THE LETTERS OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

A CRITICAL TEXT WITH PROLEGOMENA, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIX

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FOREWORD

The letters of Apollonius of Tyana have always appeared either in anthologies of Greek epistolographers or as an appendix to Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii*—that is, either as specimens of a well represented (and often tiresome) genre or as an afterthought to the biography of the Pythagorean sage. The standard edition of the letters (Kayser, ed. min.) is inadequate in every sense. Comment on them over the last century has been sporadic. Therefore, the present endeavor needs no justification or explanation.

An early stage of my work culminated in a 1971 Harvard dissertation, *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana: Introduction, Translation, and Selective Commentary*; most of the substance of that dissertation has been incorporated into the present monograph, though in a much revised form. Final work was completed during the spring semester and summer of 1977 with the support of a Fordham University Faculty Fellowship.

In the commentary I have provided whatever help I could. Specialists in various fields will not be entirely satisfied with it. But I console myself with the hope that the appearance of this new edition will draw more attention to the letters and urge specialists to shed light where I was unable.

A number of people have helped me (some unwittingly) with problems of detail, and I am grateful to all of them. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professors Glen W. Bowersock and C. P. Jones for introducing me to Apollonius and helping and encouraging me in the early stages of my work. Publication was made possible in part by generous grants from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation and from Fordham University. Both the Loeb Foundation's reader and Brill's reader saved me from a number of mistakes and otherwise improved the manuscript. I greatly appreciate my wife Sara's and my parents' encouragement and thank my parents for helping to defray the costs of publication.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, the titles listed below are cited only by name of the author(s). Where pagination has changed in a reprint, I give the pagination of the first-mentioned printing. For periodicals I use the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique.* For standard collections and works of reference and, generally, for ancient authors and their works, the abbreviations of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2] are employed.

F. Ch. Baur, "Apollonius von Tyana und Christus," repr. 1966 from *Drei Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der alten Philosophie und ihres Verhältnisses zum Christentum* (1876), ed. E. Zeller.
W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (1972), trans. E. L. Minar, Jr.
F. C. Conybeare, *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Eusebius,* Loeb Classical Library (1912, rev. 1950).
J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*[2] (1954).
F. Grosso, "La 'Vita di Apollonio di Tiana' come fonte storica," *Acme* 7 (1954) 333-532.
J. Hempel, "Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung von Apollonius von Tyana," *Beiträge zur Religionswissenschaft* 4 (1920).
O. Hense: *See under* C. Wachsmuth.
R. Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci* (1873).
J. Jessen, *Apollonius von Tyana und sein Biograph Philostratus* (1885).
C. L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt* (1853).
——, *Flavii Philostrati opera* (1870-71). Cited as Kayser, ed. min.
R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] (1898-1904, repr. 1966). Cited by article.
G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961).
H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions,* American Studies in Papyrology 13 (1974).
E. Meyer, "Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos," *Hermes* 52 (1917) 371-424 = *Kleine Schriften* (1924) II 131-91.
E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*[2] (1929).
G. Olearius, *Philostratorum quae supersunt omnia* (1709).
G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament,* Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 1 (1970).
A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966, rev. 1968).
F. Solmsen, "Philostratos (10)," *PW* 20:1 (1941) 136-74 = *Kleine Schriften* (1968) II 97-116.
Thesaurus graecae linguae (1831-65). Cited as *TGL.*
Vita Apollonii, Philostratus. Cited as *VA.*
M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (1909, repr. 1966).
C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium* (1884-1912).
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Lesefrüchte CXCVIII," *Hermes* 60 (1925) 307-13 = *Kleine Schriften* IV (1962) 394-401.

I. Knowledge of the Letters in Late Antiquity

The earliest and most important source of information on the letters of Apollonius of Tyana, the Pythagorean sage of the first century A.D., is Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii*, completed some time after Julia Domna's death in 217.[1] According to Philostratus (*VA* 8.20), a collection of Apollonius's letters (τινας τῶν τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε) had been presented to the philhellenic emperor Hadrian along with a volume of Pythagorean *sententiae* that Apollonius reputedly had acquired in the cave of Trophonius at Lebadea (*VA* 8.19).[2] Philostratus himself made a collection of the letters for use in his *VA*.[3] He gives the following general description of the letters' addressees and contents: ἐπέστελλε δὲ [sc., 'Απολλώνιος] βασιλεῦσι σοφισταῖς φιλοσόφοις 'Ηλείοις Δελφοῖς 'Ινδοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπὲρ θεῶν ὑπὲρ ἐθῶν ὑπὲρ ἠθῶν ὑπὲρ νόμων, παρ' οἷς ὅ τι ἁμαρτάνοιτο, ἐπηνώρθου (*VA* 1.2).

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[1] For the dating of the work, see Solmsen 139.

[2] The *Suda* records the existence of an 'Απολλώνιος (s.v.) ἕτερος, Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος νεώτερος, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ 'Αδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς 'Αγρέσφων ἐν τῷ περὶ ὁμωνύμων. The notion of a second, Hadrianic Apollonius of Tyana, if he is nothing more than a phantom doublet of the real Apollonius (J. Miller, *PW* 2 [1896] 148; Meyer 424n), may have originated from a belief that Hadrian was interested in the sage and his writings.

[3] *VA* 7.35, ξυνειλοχὼς αὐτοῦ πλείστας. For Philostratus's other sources, see Solmsen 147-53; Grosso 333 ff. Philostratus says that his main source on Apollonius was the memoirs of Damis, a companion and disciple of the sage (*VA* 1.3). Earlier modern doubts about the existence of Damis and the existence or genuineness of his memoirs culminated in Meyer's arguments (1917) that Damis and his memoirs were nothing more than an invention of Philostratus, intended to give an air of authority to his apologetic biography of Apollonius (cf., recently, G. W. Bowersock in C. P. Jones's Penguin translation [1970] of the *VA*, pp. 17-19, though Bowersock does concede the possibility that the memoirs may be a pre-Philostratean invention). Grosso (1954) has attempted to rehabilitate Damis: Damis, Grosso contends after a lengthy examination of the *VA* as an historical source, really was a companion of Apollonius and wrote his apologetic memoirs between 97 and 99 A.D., shortly after Apollonius's death. F. LoCascio accepts Grosso's thesis (*La forma letteraria della Vita di Apollonio Tianeo*, Quad. Istit. Filol. Gr. Univ. Palermo 6 [1974] 32-34, 45). Petzke (1970) 67-72, who is ignorant of Grosso's important study, has also raised several significant objections against Meyer's thesis. I incline to regard Damis's memoirs as a pre-Philostratean fabrication. See also W. Speyer, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 17 (1974) 48-53.

In the *Vita Apollonii* Philostratus sometimes quotes letters, fully or partially; on other occasions he only paraphrases or refers briefly to them. Fourteen letters that are fully quoted by Philostratus also appear in the separately transmitted collection.[4] A short quotation in *VA* 5.40 may be identified with the opening sentence of *Epp. Apoll.* 9 in the separately transmitted collection, and two other letters of that collection (*Epp. Apoll.* 63 and 71) are alluded to in Philostratus's narrative.[5] Two quotations of Apollonius's words in the *VA*, though not explicitly designated as epistolary, may nonetheless be so.[6] Philostratus knew more letters than he quotes or specifically refers to. He notes letters to Delphians and Egyptians in *VA* 1.2, but none is subsequently mentioned. He knew many letters to Euphrates but quotes (perhaps) only one (*VA* 5.39, Appendix 4). He had letters to Bassus and to Dio to which he only vaguely alludes (*VA* 4.26, 5.40).

Quotations of and references to specific letters in the *Vita Apollonii* have been assembled in the Appendix. However, the fourteen letters that appear in the separately transmitted collection as well as in the *VA* are given only once, in the separately transmitted collection. Also, references in the *VA* to *Epp. Apoll.* 9, 63, and 71 and some other general comments of Philostratus on Apollonius's letter-writing are treated only in the commentary. All quotations of the *VA* follow the text of Kayser, ed. min.

Philostratus, though the most important, is not the only third century source of information on the letters of Apollonius. The *Corpus Philostrateum* contains a short piece on letter-writing (vol. 2, pp. 257-58 Kayser, ed. min.) that is probably to be identified with a younger Philostratus's [7] letter to the *ab epistulis* Aspasius that is mentioned by Philostratus in *Vitae Sophistarum* 628.[8] The younger Philostratus praises the letters of Apollonius as models of their genre. Other epistolographers singled out for praise are Dio Chrys-

[4] *Epp. Apoll.* 42a-h, 77a-f. Information in my apparatus on the Philostratean text of these letters is gleaned from Kayser's 1853 edition of the *VA*.

[5] For details see my comments, *ad locc.*

[6] See Appendix 4 and 6. In both cases Philostratus introduces the quotation with the verb φημί. At *VA* 5.40 (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 9) and *VA* 6.29 (Appendix 10) Philostratus uses the same vague verb to introduce epistolary quotations.

[7] Solmsen's Philostratus III, item 11 in his article "Philostratos" in *PW*. Cf. *PIR*² F 333.

[8] See K. Münscher, "Die Philostrate," *Philologus* Suppl. 10 (1905-1907) 510; *PW* 20:1 (1941) 134. The piece in the *Corpus Philostrateum* is quoted by Ps.-Libanius, *Characteres epistolici* 47 (vol. 9, pp. 33-34 Foerster).

ostom, Brutus, Marcus Aurelius, and (with reservations) Herodes Atticus.

Porphyry, too, was probably familiar with a collection of Apollonius's letters, since he quotes from one (*Epp. Apoll.* 78) in a passage of his *De styge* preserved in Stobaeus. Porphyry also may have known Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii* and probably quoted Apollonius's Περὶ θυσιῶν. He employed a life of Pythagoras ascribed to Apollonius in writing his own biography of Pythagoras. And he could make a point against Christianity by appealing to Apollonius and his works.[9]

Stobaeus (early 5th c. ?) has preserved much more than the fragment of a letter in Porphyry's *De styge.* He selected twenty-two letters of Apollonius (*Epp. Apoll.* 79-100) for inclusion in his anthology.[10] Some are addressed to individuals or groups of individuals who also appear in the separately transmitted collection of letters. There are two (82, 94) to Euphrates (cf. 1-8, 14-18, 50-52, 60), three (85, 92, 93) to his pupils (cf. 77), one (90) to Dio (cf. 9, 10), and one (95) to his brothers (cf. 44, 45). The remaining addressees in Stobaeus are new names and cannot be identified. All of the letters in Stobaeus are very brief. Similarly brief letters can be found in Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii* and in the separately transmitted collection. Still, one may wonder whether Stobaeus always gives us whole letters. Some may be short quotations from originally longer letters. *Epp. Apoll.* 98-100, for example, may have originally stood in longer *consolationes,* like those written to Apollonius's brother (55) and to Valerius (58).[11]

I have followed the tradition of printing the letters in Stobaeus as *Epp. Apoll.* 79 ff. However, Stobaeus, *Anth.* 3.33.12, printed as

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[9] *VA*: Porph., *Abst.* 3.3, may contain an inexact reference to *VA* 4.3. Περὶ θυσιῶν: see Norden 343-44. Pythagoras: Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 2; H. Jäger, *Die Quellen des Porphyrios in seiner Pythagorasbiographie* (1919) 30 ff.; Burkert 97 ff.; Petzke 37-40. Christianity: Jerome, *Tract. de Ps.* LXXXI 225 ff. (p. 89 Morin).

[10] Stobaeus calls the epistolographer simply "Apollonius." No one has doubted that he is the Tyanean. He is called simply "Apollonius," e.g., in Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 2; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 35 [254]; *SHA*, *Alex. Sev.* 29.2. For the fame of Apollonius in the late Empire, see below, p. 28.

[11] It is possible that some of the shorter letters in the separately transmitted collection are actually excerpts from originally longer letters (cf. below, n. 86). Wilamowitz 307-308, 310 conjectured that originally longer letters could to some extent be reconstituted by combining several now discrete letters (30 + 31 + 54, 65 + 66 + 67, letters to Euphrates, 38 + 39 + 40 + 41, 75 + 76).

Epp. Apoll. 81 by Olearius and subsequent editors, has been removed. Its attribution to Apollonius was erroneous.[12] Also, I have added four items from Stobaeus that do not appear in earlier editions of the letters: *Anth.* 2.15.34, 2.46.20, 2. 46.21, 3.33.13 (*Epp. Apoll.* 79-81, 92). Finally, the Stobaean letters have been rearranged to appear in the same relative order in which they appear in the Wachsmuth-Hense *Anthologium*. Except in a few places noted in the commentary, I reproduce the Wachsmuth-Hense text of *Epp. Apoll.* 78-100.

II. The Separately Transmitted Collection

A. *The Manuscripts*

All the manuscripts discussed below (as well as the Aldine edition) have been fully collated for this edition.[13] In all cases I have worked from microfilms or photographs of the manuscripts.

Group I: LrNPs L_2M F Vd B

Lr Athous Lavra Ω 123, Mt. Athos, Lavra, 13th c., 328 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 14, 15, 5, 16, 17, 6, 7, 52, 8, 60, 18, 9, 10, 19-22, 61, 23, 62, decree appended to 62,[14] note introducing 63,[15] 63, 24, 64, 53, 25-27, 30, 54, 31, 65-67, 32, 33, 68, 69, 34, 70-73, excerpt from 55,[16] 44, 35, 45

[12] Cf. Hense in app. crit.: "temere Apollonio . . . tribuit Kayser . . . unde idem error apud Hercherum."

[13] I have not examined the letters of Apollonius in the 16th c. Codex Bononiensis Gr. 3563 or in the early 17th c. Codex Marcianus Gr. VIII 14 (once Nanianus 278).

[14] The decree of the Lacedaemonians is missing in most manuscripts. When it occurs, I shall say so explicitly. I suspect that the tendency to omit it was due to the consideration that it is a document and hence extraneous to an anthology of epistolographers.

[15] ταῦτα ἀναγνοὺς [sc. ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος] οὐκ ἐχαυνώθη ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ὥστε ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὰ κεχαρισμένα καὶ μὴ τἀληθῆ. ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐ πάνυ τι Λακωνικούς, οὐχ ἡσθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιτίθησι τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. The assumption that this note, which also appears in $Np^mT^mMz^mV^mRL_1^m$, ultimately derives from some lost biography of Apollonius (H. Diels, *Hermes* 53 [1918] 77n; E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* [1965-74] II 217) is unwarranted and rightly rejected by Grosso 362, n. 6, and Petzke 154. I suspect that the note is merely a scribe's attempt to explain the awkward juxtaposition of a letter in which the Spartans honor Apollonius to one in which Apollonius criticizes them. Cf. a note between *Epp.* 4 and 5 of Hippocrates in *POxy.* IX 1184, discussed by G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (1952) 405.

[16] Τῷ αὐτῷ [sc., Ἑστιαίῳ]· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, ὑμῖν [sic] δὲ τρισὶν οὔτε εἷς. This "letter," which also appears in $NPsL_2MV^m$, is nothing more than a sentence excerpted from *Epp. Apoll.* 55.2.

through φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα (last words of fol. 217v), 1 beginning ἢ γραμματιστὰς (first words of fol. 218), 50, 51, 2, 3, 47-49, 77a-c, 42a, 42c-h, 77d, 77e (fols. 215v-19). Note the loss of one or two folios between fols. 217 and 218. Fols. 204 ff. have an anthology of Greek epistolographers. The rest of the manuscript has works of Libanius, mainly rhetorical. See Spyridon Lavriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (1925) 356-57.

N Leidensis B. P. G. 73D (= Kayser's Lugdunensis 73 [λ]), Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, first half of 14th c. (?),[17] 200 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 14, 15, 5, 16, 17, 6, 52, 60, 18, 9, 10, 19-22, 61, 23, 63, 64, 24-27, 30, 54, 31, 65, 66, 32-34, 70-72, excerpt from 55,[18] 35, 45, 36, 37, 74, 75a,[19] 75, 38, 76, 56, 39, 41, 42, 77, 57, 46, 1, 50, 51, 2, 3, 47, 49, 42f-h, 77d, 77e (fols. 195-200v). With Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*. See K. A. DeMeyier, *Codices Bibliothecae publicae graeci* (1965) 130-31.[20]

Ps Parisinus Gr. 1428 (= Kayser's p), Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 14th c., 211 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 14, 15, 5, 16, 17, 6, 52, 60, 18, 9, 10, 19-22, 61, 23, 63, 64, 24-27, 30, 54, 31, 65, 66, 32-34, 70-72, 45, excerpt from 55,[21] 35-37, 74, 75a, 75, 38, 76, 56, 39, 41, 42, 77, 57, 46, 1, 50, 51, 2, 3, 47, 49, 77a-c, 42a, 42c, 42f, 42d, 42g, 42h, 77d, 77e (fols. 185-87v). Epistolographers on fols. 185-207v. See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (1886-98) II 41.

The occurrence of the letters in LrNPs is synoptically as follows:

LrNPs: 1-3, 5-6 [22]
Lr: 7-8

[17] Fols. 1-15 belong to the first half of the 16th c. They contain a fragment of Aelian, *De natura animalium* I.

[18] See above, n. 16.

[19] When I wrote *HSPh* 79 (1975) 305 ff., I thought that I was publishing 75a for the first time. At that time I, like other writers on Apollonius, was unaware that A. Sabatucci had included a transcription of 75a in his detailed description of Vaticanus Gr. 1353 (my V) in *SIFC* 14 (1906) 386. *Epp. Apoll.* 75a is not preserved in Group II except marginally in V. V's scribe, Constantine Lascaris, added 75a, I believe, from M (cf. my comments on V below). The placement of 75a in the collection as arranged in my edition had, of course, to be my own decision. Lascaris placed it *in marg.* after 76.

[20] DeMeyier incorrectly included *Epp. Apoll.* 48 in his description of the manuscript's contents.

[21] See above, n. 16.

[22] Lr is lacking the opening words of 1.

LrNPs:	9-10, 14-27, 30-35
NPs:	36-39, 41-42
LrPs:	42a, 42c-d
Lr:	42e
LrNPs:	42f-h
Lr:	44
LrNPs:	45 [23]
NPs:	46
LrNPs:	47
Lr:	48
LrNPs:	49-52
Lr:	53
LrNPs:	54
NPs:	56-57
LrNPs:	60-61
Lr:	62 with decree
LrNPs:	63-66
Lr:	67-69
LrNPs:	70-72
Lr:	73
NPs:	74-75, 75a, 76-77
LrPs:	77a-c
LrNPs:	77d-e

Errors that conjoin LrNPs may be found throughout the apparatus. NPs have further errors that are not shared by Lr: e.g., 1 ποτε] πολλάκις, 17 θεῖος] θεός, 18 ἔφησε] ἔλεγε, 32 om. ἐστίν, 42f Νέρων] οὗτος, 47 (inscriptio) Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] Τυανέοις, 47 ἀποδεδήμηκα] ἀπεδήμησα, 54 om. ταῖς. N is not derived from Ps, nor is Ps derived from N, because each occasionally preserves the true reading when the other errs: e.g., 3 μέγας] μέλας Ps, 19 Πέντε. . . χαρακτῆρες] Πέντε εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦ λόγου σύμπαντες χαρακτῆρες Ps, 19 ἴδιος (iterum)] δίκαιος Ps, 25 μὲν om. Ps, 42f αὐτὸ] -οῖς Ps, 47 μεταπέμποιτο] παρα- Ps, 52 τίνα] τί Ps, 71 γένη] γέρη Ps; 3 ὁ φόρτος καὶ om. N, 6 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης] τῆς ἀνάγκης τὴν αἰτίαν N, 30 χεῖρον om. N, 52 ἐκτένειαν] εὐτέλειαν N, 65 τιμῆς om. N, 70 οὐ (prius)] οἱ N. Therefore, N and Ps derive separately from a common ancestor. Lr occasionally errs (uniquely) when NPs have the true reading: e.g., 14 ὥσπερ σὺ] ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ Lr, 16 οἶμαι δεῖν] δεῖν οἶμαι Lr, 27

[23] Lr has only part of 45.

μεγάλα] μέγα Lr, 27 ἔπεισε] ἔσπεισε Lr, 52 μεγαλοπρέπειαν om. Lr, 65 δὲ post μεμπτοὶ (iterum) om. Lr. Therefore Lr and the common ancestor of NPs derive separately from a common ancestor.

In the apparatus I report all agreements of LrNPs, LrN, and LrPs. I do not report peculiarities of Lr, NPs, N, or Ps unless there is some special reason for doing so.

L_2 Mediceus Laurentianus 57.12, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 15th c., 158 fols. Excerpt from *Epp. Apoll.* 55,[24] 75a, 47, 49 (fol. 114). Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (1764-70) II 350-54.

M Matritensis 4637 (N 116), Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, 15th c., 138 fols. Excerpt from *Epp. Apoll.* 55,[25] 75a, 47, 49 (fols. 10-10v). Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci manuscripti* (1769) I 466-75; Vogel-Gardthausen 245.

For the placement of L_2M in Group I, note in addition to the presence of *Epp. Apoll.* 75a (not preserved in Group II except marginally in V) the information in the apparatus for *Epp. Apoll.* 47 and 49; cf. the remarks at an earlier stage of my research in *HSPh* 79 (1975) 306-307. It may now be asserted that L_2M are more closely related to Lr than to NPs; note esp. 47 (inscriptio) Τυανέοις NPs, Τυανέων ἄρχουσι(ν) LrL_2M; 47 μεταπέμποιτο (παρα- Ps) NPs cum rell., -οιντο LrL_2M. L_2M alone have the error ποιῶν for περιποιῶν in *Epp. Apoll.* 47, and their shared cluster of four letters is peculiar to them.

F Ambrosianus Gr. 81 (B4 sup., once T4), Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, 10th c., 269+ fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 14-42, 42a, 42c-h (fols. 200-203v). With other Greek epistolographers. This manuscript is one of the oldest collections of Greek letters that we have; for a suggestion on its origin, see B. Laourdas, *ByzZ* 44 (1951) 370-72. See A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (1906) I 92-94.

Although F has ἂν μᾶλλον in 14 with Group II and not μᾶλλον ἂν with Group I, it fails to display two other errors of Group II,

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[24] See above, n. 16.
[25] See above, n. 16.

namely 21 βαρβάρους αὐτοὺς and 32 καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων. F has the following errors in common with LrNPs: 16 θεῖοί] θεοί, 18 om. ἐστὶν, 35 om. ἀρετή (iterum) . . . ἀσπασαμένων, 37 ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ] ἐροῦσι πανταχόθεν,[26] 41 ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι] οἱ πλεῖστοι ταγμάτων (δογμάτων Ps),[27] 42d om. τὸ.[28] But a glance at the apparatus for 14-42h shows (implicitly) far more cases in which F agrees with Group II against LrNPs. F represents a version of the text between that of the common ancestor of LrNPs and that of the common ancestor of Group II; in F we see a sample of the Group I text that predates the very distinctive recension of the common ancestor of LrNPs.

Vd Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 342, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 11th c.,[29] v + 219 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 56, 42c, 42d (fol. 72).[30] Mainly with Byzantine epistolographers. The three letters of Apollonius and some letters of Philostratus, Crates, and Diogenes (all on fols. 71-72v) are all mistakenly attributed to Theodorus of Cyzicus. See H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* I (1961) 435-37.

Vd's scant text does not reveal its precise place in the tradition. I list it under Group I because of its text of 56: ἀθέατα [sic] πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας (see app. crit., ad loc.). Vd also omits τὸ with LrPsFB in 42d.

B Baroccianus 56, Bodleian Library, Oxford, late 14th c., 175 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 20, 77a, 42c-f, 42h, 15, 18 (fol. 27v). With other epistolographers *et al.* See H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues I: Greek Manuscripts* (1969) 83-91.[31]

B may be listed under Group I. It has ἐγκαλύπτου in 18 with LrNPs and Z (ἐγκαλυπτέος rell.) and omits τὸ in 42d with LrPsFVd.

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[26] 37 is missing in Lr.

[27] 41 is missing in Lr.

[28] 42d is missing in N. τὸ is also omitted in Group I's Vd and B.

[29] H. Hunger assigns this manuscript to the 11th c. It had previously been assigned to the 12th c. by Sp. Lampros (Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8 [1911] 301, 13 [1916] 130) and to the 12th or 13th c. by M. Schepers in the introduction (p. xii) of his 1905 Teubner text of the letters of Alciphron.

[30] Hunger does not note *Epp. Apoll.* 42d in his catalogue. It appears in this manuscript without its own heading and as part of *Epp. Apoll.* 42c.

[31] A revised reprint of Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* I (1853).

The Manuscripts of Group II

The following conjunctive errors are shared by all members of Group II: 9 τοὔνομα] ὄνομα, 9 τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον] τοῦτο γραπτέον σοι ῥητέον (Z^{ar}), 14 μᾶλλον ἂν] ἂν μᾶλλον, 21 αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους] βαρβάρους αὐτούς, 32 ποικίλων καὶ γραφῶν] καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων, 47 om. καὶ εὔνοιαν, 49 om. καὶ ταύτῃ που . . . παραινοῦντος,[32] 50 καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος] ὁ σοφώτατος, 50 διετέλεις μισῶν] μισῶν διετέλεις, 52 om. Εὐφρᾶτα (add. supra lin. Z), 56 om. πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς γυναῖκας, om. 75a,[33] 77c θάλατταν] θάλασσαν. The peculiar readings of subgroups and individual manuscripts of Group II are not reported in my apparatus unless there is special reason for doing so.

S Reginensis Gr. 104, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th c. (after 1462),[34] 199 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77,[35] 77a-f (fols. 68v-88).[36] Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (1888) 75-76.

A Vaticanus Gr. 95 (once 995), Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th c. (after 1462),[37] ii + 125+ fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 96-119). With other Greek epistolographers. See J. Mercati and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani graeci* I (1923) 107-108; P. Canart, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 79-80.

U Parisinus Gr. 2992, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 16th c., 376 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 185-200). A miscellany. See Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* III 82-83; Vogel-Gardthausen 224.

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32 This phrase is also omitted by NPs in Group I. Probably the common ancestor of NPs and that of Group II omitted the phrase independently of each other; alternatively, the common ancestor of NPs knew of the omission in Group II and deleted the phrase under the influence of that knowledge.

33 For *Epp. Apoll.* 75a's occurrence in the margin of V, see below.

34 This manuscript contains a letter of Nicolas Secundinus and one of Cardinal Bessarion, both dated 1462.

35 Again let me note that the decree of the Lacedaemonians appended to 62 should be assumed to be missing in the manuscripts unless I explicitly note its occurrence. Also, 75a does not occur in Group II except marginally in V.

36 I give the recently added folio numbers of the bottom right corner. The sequence of fols. 1-82 had apparently already been disturbed before the original foliation was added. The proper sequence has been restored since Stevenson compiled his catalogue, and new folio numbers have been added.

37 This manuscript contains a letter of Cardinal Bessarion, also found in cod. S, dated 1462.

Among the many conjunctive errors of SAU, it will suffice to record the following: 4 φροντίσαι] -σας, 8.1 εἰ γὰρ] εἴθε γάρ, 14 om. περὶ (prius), 27 πηλῷ πηλὸν] πηλὸν πηλῷ, 37 om. ἐροῦσι, 41 γένους] γέρως, 58.2 ἐκρυείσης τε] ἐκρυείσης, 63 τοὺς λεγομένους] αὐτοὺς τοὺς λεγομένους, 68 κινδύνων] τῶν κινδύνων, 72 ὀνομάζεσθαι] καλεῖσθαι, 75 ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα] ἄρα ποίῳ πεποιθότες. AU have all the errors of S plus more of their own and preserve no genuine readings that are not in S (with two exceptions discussed below). A is not copied from U nor is U copied from A, since each on occasion preserves the true reading when the other errs; note esp. the following unique errors: 27 καθαίρεσθαι] καθαρίζεσθαι A, 44.1 om. μόνη A, 58.5 πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ . . . τὸ τοιοῦτον] πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον A, 42b τι om. U, 50 γὰρ om. U, 58.3 διὰ γῆς] τῆς γῆς U. AU do have several errors in common where S has the true reading: 16 θεῖοί] θεοί, 19 (inscriptio) Σκοπελιανῷ] Σκοπο-, 50 δ' ἔτι] δ' ὅτι. I would propose that AU descend independently of one another from an exemplar that was copied from S. *Whenever I explicitly report a reading of S in the apparatus without mentioning AU, it may be assumed, unless otherwise stated, that AU are in agreement with it.* In a series including S and "rell.," assume, unless otherwise indicated, that AU read with S, not with "rell."

The two cases, alluded to above, in which AU have a genuine reading when S errs are as follows: 11.1 μεγέθει] μέθει S μέθει, -γε- supra lin. scripto A μεγέθει U (post corr.?); 39 ἄξια] ἄξα S ἄξια AU. Both are simple corrections and therefore do not stand in the way of the relationship proposed above for SAU.

Np Neapolitanus Gr. III A 15, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, 15th c., 119 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-d, 42f-h, 43, 42e, 44-62 (with the decree appended to 62), 63-77, 77a-f (fols. 1-11v). *Marginal addition*: fol. 9v left, the note introducing 63,[38] next to 62 and in the same hand as the text. Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See S. Cyrillus, *Codices graeci manuscripti Regiae Bibliothecae Borbonicae* (1826-32) II 211; A. Garzya, *Eranos* 59 (1961) 81.

T Vaticanus Gr. 1354, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th-16th cc., 140 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-62 (with the decree appended to 62), 63-77, 77a-f (fols. 10v-21v). *Marginal addition*: fol. 19 bottom, the note introducing 63,[39] in the same hand as the text. With other

[38] See above, n. 15.
[39] See above, n. 15.

Greek epistolographers. See A. Sabatucci, *SIFC* 14 (1906) 390-91; Vogel-Gardthausen 400.

Mz Mazarinaeus Gr. 4454 (611A) = Kayser's μ (?), Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, 16th c., 190 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-d, 42f-h, 43-62 (with the decree appended to 62), 63-77, 77a-f (fols. 51v-63v). *Marginal additions*: fol. 56 bottom, 42e in the same hand as the text;[40] fol. 61 right, the note introducing 63,[41] next to 62 and in the same hand as the text. Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See A. Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* (1885-92) III 353-54.

The following are among the errors that conjoin NpTMz: 4 om. γενέσθαι; 8.2 παύει] παίει; 12 γεγενῆσθαι] γεννῆσθαι; 36 δεδομένος] δεδεμένος in textu, δευόμενος in marg.; 47 om. ὑμῖν (iterum); 51 om. σοί; 54 ἦν] εἴη; 58.4 τότε δὲ] τὸ δὲ; 63 (inscriptio) ἐφόροις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις] Λ. κ. ἐ.; 75 om. δὲ (prius). NpTMz also add ἔρρωσο at the end of 14 and 77d and ἔρρωσθε at the end of 43, 47, and 53. A handful of shared variants associate NpMz against T: 13 ἄλλως] ἄλλως in textu, μάτην superscr. NpMz; 21 ἀφεκτέον] ἀφικτέον NpMz;[42] 34 ἔμπροσθεν] ἔμπροσθε NpMz,[43] 37 ἀστικοὶ] ἀστυκοὶ NpMz; 42a (inscriptio) Ἐφόροις] Ἐφέροις NpMz; 52 λιτότητα] λιπότητα, -τ- supra -π- scripto NpMz; 58.5 καὶ ante ἀποτρέψεις add. NpMz.[44] Mz is not copied from Np, since Mz sometimes has the true reading when Np errs: e.g., 1 ὄντως] οὕτω Np, 44.1 om. ἡ ante πατρὶς Np, 49 om. γράμμασιν Np, 53 om. ὑμῖν Np,[45] 60 om. σκιόεντα Np. If the dates given in the catalogues for Np and Mz are correct, then the possibility that Np is copied from Mz is chronologically excluded.[46] NpMz derive from a common ancestor. That common ancestor could not have been copied from T, since T sometimes errs when NpMz preserve the true reading: e.g., 1 θεράπευέ σου] θεράπευσον T, 42f om. τι T, 56 ἔτι τε] ἔτι καὶ T, 77b (inscriptio) om. σοφοῖς T, 77c om. πεζῇ T. Therefore, T and the common ancestor of NpMz derive from a common ancestor.

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40 Fol. 56 ends with 43 καὶ ἤθους καὶ λόγων.
41 See above, n. 15.
42 The same variant occurs independently in Z.
43 The same variant occurs independently in FL_1.
44 Dots were subsequently added under καὶ in Mz, indicating that the word should be deleted.
45 ὑμῖν is independently omitted in E as well.
46 And note that in 42a Mz has an error, ἁμαρτάνοντα, whereas NP with all the other manuscripts has the true reading, ἁμαρτάνοντας.

Ald Aldine edition, 1499 (see below, p. 21). *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f.

K Palatinus Gr. 419, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th-16th cc. (before 1601), 208 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f, with facing Latin translation (fols. 120v-138). With other Greek epistolographers. Prepared as printer's copy for the edition of Greek epistolographers published by Commelin at Heidelberg in 1601 (see below, p. 21).[47] See H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (1885) 271-72.

E Seldenianus Supra 16 (once Seldenianus 15), Bodleian Library, Oxford, 16th c., 218 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 139-80). With other Greek epistolographers. See Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues I* 592-93.

The five most important conjunctive errors in Ald. KE are: 13 om. αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, 32 περὶ] παρά, 44.1 ἀμείνων πολλῶν] πολλῶν ἀμείνων, 58.2 κενωθείη] κενωθὲν, 67 om. ἤ. K appears to be based directly on Ald.[48] On several occasions E has the true reading where Ald. K err: 35 ἡμᾶς (iterum) E recte, ὑμᾶς Ald. K; 44.3 οὔτε λιμὸς habet E, om. Ald. K; 63 ὑμῶν E recte, ἡμῶν Ald. K;[49] 74 ὥστε ἂν αἱρεῖσθαί E recte, ὥστε αἱρεῖσθαί Ald. K. Thus E, though descended from the same ancestor as Ald., is not a copy of Ald.

V Vaticanus Gr. 1353, Biblioteca Vaticana, 1462,[50] viii + 241 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 80-91v). *Marginal additions*: fol. 89v bottom, the decree appended to 62 and the note introducing 63;[51] fol. 90v left, the excerpt from 55,[52] with a caret mark in the text after 73 (cf. Lr); fol. 91 right, 75a, beginning

[47] The manuscript includes notes to the printer, Latin prefaces by Eilhardus Lubinus, and a Latin title for the edition.

[48] Cod. Grabe 15, too, which I have fully collated, is a copy of Ald. But there is nothing of interest or value in it, and therefore no further account will be taken of it. Mr Nigel Wilson has kindly examined the letters of Apollonius in Grabe 15 for me. He informs me that the hand is not Grabe's, but probably more or less contemporary with it.

[49] K's ἡμῶν was corrected to ὑμῶν in the printed edition based on it.

[50] Fols. 215 ff. were written somewhat later than the preceding folios. The transcriber, Constantine Lascaris, has the following note on fol. 214v: κτῆμα ποθεινὸν Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Λασκάρεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ἐκγραφὲν αυξβ. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὕστερον ἐν Μεσήνῃ ἐκγεγράφατο . . . .

[51] See above, n. 15. Fol. 89v begins with the last words of 63 and ends towards the end of 68.

[52] See above, n. 16.

where 76 in the text ends. With other Greek epistolographers. Text and marginalia are in the same hand, that of Constantine Lascaris. Lascaris may have obtained the text of the marginally added excerpt from 55 and 75a from another of his manuscripts, Matritensis 4637 (M). There are a good number of places in V where the peculiar reading that it inherited from the common ancestor of VR has been corrected, though (happily) the original reading is still discernible. One cannot always determine whether the corrections were made by Lascaris or by someone else. See A. Sabatucci, *SIFC* 14 (1906) 385-90; R. J. Penella, *HSPh* 79 (1975) 307-308.

R Matritensis 4557 (N 19), Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, late 15th c., 256 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-15; 17-42; 42a-h; 43-69; the decree of the Lacedaemonians (see *Epp. Apoll.* 62) and the note introducing 63,[53] both written together as a single item; 70-77; 77a-f (fols. 136v-55). With other Greek epistolographers. See Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci manuscripti* I 71-81.

It will suffice to cite, among the many conjunctive errors of VR, the following: 13 γνωσθησομένοις] γνωρισθησομένους, 35 τὸν αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν, 42e (inscriptio) Ἀπολλωνίῳ] τῷ αὐτῷ, 43 φυλακτέος] -εον, 44 (inscriptio) ante ἀδελφῷ add. ἑαυτοῦ (τῷ ἑαυτοῦ V), 45 ἴσως] ἴσων, 49 ἔχου] εὔχου, 55.3 παραθησόμεθα] παραμυθησόμεθα, 58.2 ὕλης] ἄλλης, 58.6 μετὰ ταύτην] ταύτην, 77a (inscriptio) add. τοῖς ante σιτοκαπήλοις. Here are some examples of conjunctive errors of VR that have been removed from V by correction, though V's original reading is still discernible; in the examples I give V has been corrected to my lemma unless otherwise indicated: 2 τὰ Μεγαβύξου] τὰ μεγα βυζαντίου (corr. in τὰ Μεγαβύζου V), 35 ἐναντιώτατα] ἐναντιώματα, 58.2 τρεπομένων] -μένουν, 63 (inscriptio) ἐφόροις] εὐφόροις, 71 δέχοιντ'] δέχοιτ'.

Is R copied from V? This relationship has been proposed for the letters of Ps.-Diogenes that appear in both manuscripts.[54] It is not necessary here to attempt to settle the question. I would only note, first, how V's corrections and marginalia have complicated the question. If R was copied from V, the copying will have to have occurred before most of the corrections were made in V but after V

[53] See above, n. 15. In the note the scribe omitted two phrases, τὰ κεχαρισμένα καὶ μὴ τἀληθῆ and αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιτίθησι τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν, which he then conflated and supplied in the margin as τὰ κεχαρισμένα καὶ μὴ τἀληθῆ ἐπιτίθησι τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

[54] V. E. Emeljanow, *The Letters of Diogenes* (Diss. Stanford 1967) 9.

had added *in marg.* the decree appended to 62 and the note introducing 63, both of which have been incorporated into the text of R. But then are we to assume that V added the decree and note at an earlier stage than its other marginalia? Otherwise, if all of V's marginalia were added at one stage, R incorporated only the decree and note, and not V's other marginal additions. Secondly, I find three cases in which V errs but R has the correct reading: 28 τοιοῦτος] -ον V, 55.1 Πυθαγορείου] -ίου V, 65 μεμπτοὶ (iterum)] πεμπτοὶ V. However, these three errors of V are easily emendable, therefore their absence in R does not necessarily invalidate the hypothesis that R is copied from V.

H Harleianus 5635, British Museum, London, 15th c., 275 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 113-127). With other Greek epistolographers *et al.* The text of this manuscript is in four hands.[55] See J. Sykutris, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 48 (1928) 1288; R. Nares, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1808-12) III 283.

O D'Orville 112 (Auct. X.1.4.10), Bodleian Library, Oxford, 15th c.,[56] ii + 56 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 39-50).[57] With other Greek epistolographers. See F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* IV (1897) 64, 104.

C Vaticanus Gr. 1461, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th c., 297 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 281-297v). With other Greek epistolographers. See L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* (1934) 49; I. Düring, *Chion of Heraclea*, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis 57:5 (1951) 30; P. Canart, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 68.[58]

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[55] In the text of the letters of Apollonius the hand changes once, on fol. 119, line 4 to the bottom of the page.

[56] [T. Gaisford,] *Codices manuscripti et impressi cum notis manuscriptis, olim D'Orvilliani* (1806) 22-23, assigns O to the 14th c. Mr. Nigel Wilson has kindly examined O for me and confirmed a 15th c. date as indicated in Madan's catalogue. Fols. 52 ff. were written in the 18th c.

[57] D'Orville 300 (Auct. X.1.inf.2.29), 18th c., contains C. J. Strackhoven's (Strackhovius's) collation of the letters of Apollonius in D'Orville 112 against the edition of Olearius.

[58] A. Sabatucci, *SIFC* 14 (1906) 377-80, wrongly assigned this manuscript to the 14th c. The 15th c. date is now beyond doubt if Canart's identification of the hand as that of Johannes Thessalus Scutariotes is correct. Vogel-Gardthausen 197-98 give 1442 and 1494 as the years of Scutariotes's earliest and latest dated manuscripts; thus Düring's "saec. XV ineuntis" needs revision.

Q Vossianus Gr. Q. 51, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, second half of 15th c., 160 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 110v-124v). With selections from Theophrastus and Aristotle (fols. 1-53v), and Greek epistolographers (fols. 54-160v). See K. A. De-Meyier, *Codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei* (1955) 159-61.

Among the many conjunctive errors of HOCQ are the following: 11.1 om. ἄνθρωποι, 23 add. τοῦ ante σώματος, 38 πρῶτα] πρωτεῖα, 43 βίου] λου vel λον, 47 ἀπεδήμησα] ἀπέδησα, 52 om. εὐκινησίαν εὔπνοιαν εὔχροιαν, 53 ἠθελήσαμεν] ἐδηλώσαμεν, 54 νόμοις] νέοις, 59 (inscriptio) βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος] Γάρμος βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων, 72 om. τίνος, 77e Τίτῳ] τῷ. Further investigation of the interrelationship of HOCQ is not necessary here; I do, however, note that OC are frequently conjoined by errors (many of them trivial ones) that are not found in the other two manuscripts.

J Mutinensis Gr. 54 (III B 2), Biblioteca Estense, Modena, 15th c., 140 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 58, 55, 50, 44, 35 (fols. 107-110v). With several works of Plutarch and Ps.-Aristotle and other Greek epistolographers. See C. Samberger, *Catalogi codicum graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis italicis asservantur* I (1965) 335-36.

Pa Parisinus Gr. 3050, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 15th c., 166 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 58, 55, 50, 44, 35 (fols. 147v-151). With other Greek epistolographers. See Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* III 100.

P Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 205, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 15th-16th cc., 93 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 58, 55, 50, 44, 35 (fols. 29-30v). Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* III 231; Vogel-Gardthausen 43, 308.

W Palatinus Gr. 134, Biblioteca Vaticana, 15th-16th cc., 305 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 58, 55, 50, 44, 35 (fols 164v-167v).[59] Mainly with other Greek epistolographers, though the manuscript begins with some selections from Aelian, Aeschines and Lucian and ends with a *Vita Lysiae* and the *Tabula Cebetis*. See Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci* 65.

The following errors conjoin JPaPW: 35 ἑαυτῶν] -ῷ; 44.2 πᾶσι] πάσῃ; 44.2 διδομένην] -ης; 55.3 ἴσος] -ως; 55.3 om. τῷ βίῳ; 58.2 τῶν μερῶν δὲ] τῶν δὲ μερῶν; 58.2 κενωθείη] καὶ νοηθείη vel καινοηθείη; 58.5 om. τὰ ante ἴδια. Among these four manuscripts, the major

[59] Stevenson overlooked 58 in his description of the manuscript's contents.

cleavage is between J on the one hand and PaPW on the other. Here are the major conjunctive errors of PaPW, not found in J: 1 τι τοιοῦτο] τοιοῦτό τι, 44.1 χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν] κατάγνωσιν χαλεπὴν, 44.3 ἤνεγκεν] ἤεγκεν, 55 (inscriptio) om. Ἀπολλώνιος, 55.2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ] εἰ γάρ, 55.3 συνύφηναν] συνήφηναν, 58.2 ἐρήσεταί] αἱρήσεταί, 58.4 ante φύσεως add. τῆς, 58.7 εὐσταθῶς] εὐσταθὴς. Further precision is unnecessary here.

Some twenty-five errors, some of them very trivial ones, are shared by VRHOCQ, which shows that the common ancestors of VR and of HOCQ derive from a common ancestor. It will suffice to give some of the more important errors of VRHOCQ: 11.1 om. τε post ἀρίστη, 13 ταύτῃ] πάντῃ, 37 ἀστικοὶ] ἀστοὶ, 37 δόντος] δ' ὄντος, 48.3 λέγειν τι] τι λέγειν, 61 (inscriptio) Λεσβώναντι, 65 αὐτόθεν] αὐτόθεον, 69 Τραλλιανῶν] -οις, 77f om. σοι. JPaPW also share some errors with VRHOCQ, more with HOCQ than with VR: note esp. 35 ἵνα] ἵνα μὴ VRHOCQJPaPW; 35 ἀσπασαμένων] -μένην V^{ac}R, -μένῳ V^{pc}HOCQJPaPW; 55.2 ἐδοκοῦμεν] ἠδικοῦμεν HOCQJPaPW; 55.2 om. γε HOCQJPaPW; 55.3 ἴσος δὲ καὶ] ἴσος δὲ HOCQJPaPW;[60] 58.1 ποτέ] τινός HOCQJPaPW; 58.1 μόνον δὲ] μόνον HOCQJPaPW; 58.3 γινομένῃ] γεν- HOCQJPaPW; 58.4 εἰ χρόνος] ὁ χρόνος HOCQJPaPW; 58.5 δίκασον] δίκας VRHOCQJPaPW;[61] 58.7 om. ἔχεις ante γυναῖκα HOCQJPaPW; 58.7 om. τις post οἰκίας VRHOCQJPaPW. We may regard VRHOCQJPaPW as a large subgroup within Group II.

L_1 Mediceus Laurentianus 57.12, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 15th c., 158 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-42, 42a-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 69v-78v). *Marginal addition*: fol. 76v bottom, the decree appended to 62 and the note introducing 63,[62] with a caret mark after 62 in the text. Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See Bandini, *Catalogus . . . Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* II 350-54.

Z Mediceus Laurentianus 57.45, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, 15th c., 312 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1-32, 34-42, 42b, 42a, 42c-h, 43-77, 77a-f (fols. 273-282v). *Marginal additions*: fol. 273 bottom, a biographical note on Apollonius, taken from Zonaras 11.19, p. 61 Dindorf (Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Τυανεύς . . . οὕτως ἀνέγραψεν); fol. 279 top, 31, with a caret mark in the text after 54 (cf. LrNPs); fol. 280v bottom, 33, added under 63 of the text; fol. 281 top, 24, with a

[60] SAU also omit καὶ here.
[61] δίκας is also the reading of NpTMz.
[62] See above, n. 15.

caret mark in the text after 64; fol. 282 top, excerpt from 55,[63] added where 72 of the text comes to an end (cf. N). With other Greek epistolographers from fol. 254 to the end of the manuscript. See Bandini, *Catalogus . . . Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* II 423-25.

Z is a manuscript of Group II that has been heavily influenced by the Group I tradition. A number of Group I readings have been adopted in the text of Z. Far more often, though, the original Group II reading of Z has been corrected to a Group I reading, or a Group I reading has been given as a variant. It is hard to decide (especially from microfilm) whether the hand that corrects and provides variants is the original hand of Z; it often appears to be so. The Group I manuscript that so influenced Z was N or a copy of N since a number of readings peculiar to N appear in Z:[64] e.g., 32 ἐνείη δὲ NZ, ἐνείη καὶ rell. recte; 56 ἐῴκει NZ, ἐδόκει rell. recte; 65 ὁρώμενος NZ, ὁρμώμενος rell. recte; 36 μιαρὲ Βάσσε] μιαρὲ καὶ Βάσσε N, καὶ add. supra lin. Z; 46 ἦς] ἦσθα N, ἦς et -θα supra lin. Z; 52 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς N, αὐτοῦ et -τῆς supra lin. Z; 72 Λουκρήτιος] Λουτρίκιος NZ^m. That Z was influenced by a copy of N rather than by N itself may be indicated by two corrections in Z that are based neither on N nor on any other manuscript known to me: 37 Κορινθίων] add. τῶν ante Κορινθίων supra lin. Z; 65 λῃστὴς] add. ὁ ante λῃστὴς supra lin. Z. These two corrections may be Z's own innovations, but it is also possible that they are innovations of the hypothesized copy of N that were carried over into Z along with many other readings.

Pr Parisinus Gr. 3047 (= Kayser's π), Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1420, 200 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 11, 20, 23, 31, 35, 42, 42b-e, 44, 45, 49-52 (fols. 64-66v). With other epistolographers *et al.* The three letters on fol. 67 that seem to be attributed to Apollonius are actually *Epp. Cratetis* 3, 5, and 9 Hercher. See Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* III 99; R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus* (1949-53) II lvi-lvii.

X Urbinas Gr. 132, Biblioteca Vaticana, 1420, 144 fols. *Epp. Apoll.* 1, 11, 20, 23, 31, 35, 42, 42b-e, 44, 45, 49-52 (fols. 123-26). Mainly with other Greek epistolographers. See C. Stornaiolo, *Codices Urbinates graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (1895) 236-38.

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[63] See above, n. 16.

[64] The one exception that seems to link Z with Ps is not important: 52 παρὰ σοῦ] περὶ σοῦ PsZ^pc. παρὰ is written *per compendium* in N and could have easily been misread as περὶ by Z's corrector or by a copyist of N from whose text Z may have been working.

Here are the major conjunctive errors of PrX: 1 γένος ἕτερον] ἕτερον γένος, 1 φθονεῖν] φθόνει, 23 add. ἡ ante ἰατρικὴ, 44.1 om. μόνων, 44.3 τόνδε] τοῦτον, 49 γὰρ οἰκειότητα] οἰκειότητα γάρ, 49 τὸ τοιοῦτον] τοῦτο, 50 ἐκεῖνον] κἀκεῖνον, 51 καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον] καὶ παρὰ τοσούτων, 51 παρὰ τοῦ (iterum)] περὶ σοῦ, 52 οὐ δόξαν, εἴδησιν] δόξαν καὶ εἴδησιν, 52 om. φιλίαν ἑκατέρων. Pr may be a copy of X since Pr has all of X's errors plus two of its own: 44.2 τύχῃ] τύχοι Pr, 45 ἀγεννῆ] ἀγενῆ Pr. PrX's slight variance in the title (ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ X, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ Pr) and in the heading of 45 ('Απολλώνιος ἀδελφοῖς X, 'Απολλώνιος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Pr) can prove nothing about their mutual relationship.

B. *The Order of the Letters*

No chronological principle of arrangement is discernible in the collection as we have it. The most obvious principle of grouping is by identical or similar addressees, as follows:

- 1-8: To Euphrates.
- 9-10: To Dio
- 11-13: To *probouloi*, of Caesarea (11) and of Seleucia (12-13).
- 14-18: To Euphrates.
- 20-21: To Domitian.
- 24-27: To mainland Greek addressees.
- 28-32: To various public officials and authorities.
- 36-37: To Bassus.
- 38-41: To the Sardians.
- 42b-e: To and from Musonius.
- 42f-h: To Vespasian.
- 44-49: To Tyanean addressees. Forty-four and 45 are addressed to Hestiaeus.
- 50-52: To Euphrates.
- 62-64: To and from the Lacedaemonians.
- 65-69: To cities of Asia Minor. Sixty-five through 67 are addressed to the Ephesians in the Temple of Artemis.
- 72-73: To Hestiaeus.
- 75-76: To the Sardians.[65]
- 77b-c: To the Brahmans, from Phraotes (77b) and Apollonius (77c).

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[65] *Epp. Apoll.* 75a must be excluded from consideration here, since we do not know where it originally stood in the arrangement that appears in my edition; see above, n. 19.

It will be noted that the grouping by identical addressee is not completely accomplished. The letters to Dio, to the *probouloi* of Seleucia, to Domitian, to Bassus, the Musonius correspondence, the letters to Vespasian, the Lacedaemonian correspondence, the letters to the Ephesians in the Temple of Artemis, and the letters to the Brahmans are not scattered. But, in contrast, there are three clusters of letters to Euphrates plus one (60) standing alone, two clusters to Hestiaeus plus two (35, 55[?]) standing alone, and two clusters to the Sardians plus one (56) standing alone. There are two letters to Lesbonax (22, 61) and two to the Milesians (33, 68) that have not been grouped. Perhaps whoever compiled our anthology did so merely by juxtaposing a number of shorter anthologies, without rearranging (or fully rearranging) the letters by addressee.

The common ancestor of LrNPs, as examination of my descriptions of those three manuscripts will suggest, rearranged the letters with more regard to the principle of grouping by identical addressee. It brought together all the letters to Hestiaeus,[66] all the letters to the Sardians (NPs),[67] the two letters to Lesbonax, and the two letters to the Milesians (Lr). It reduced the letters to Euphrates to two clusters. It brought together 54 and 31, both addressed to various διοικηταῖς.[68] It grouped 32 with three other letters to Ephesus, 65-67.[69] Erroneously addressing 77d to Vespasian, it grouped it with three other letters to Vespasian, 42f-h.

Another principle of grouping in the separately transmitted collection as it appears in my edition is by identity or similarity of theme. Many of the letters grouped by identical or similar addressee also share an identical or similar theme. Within the larger group 14-18 (to Euphrates), 16 and 17 both discuss μαγεία; within the larger group 38-41 (to the Sardians), 39 and 40 both mention the Koddaroi and Xuresitauroi. A number of juxtaposed letters that have different addressees are nonetheless linked by similarity of theme:

[66] 55 is missing in LrNPs, but there is a one-sentence excerpt from 55 in them.

[67] 40 is missing in NPs.

[68] 31 is lacking a heading in LrN.

[69] In Lr, 65 is erroneously addressed to διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας. This error was caused by the influence of 31 (διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας), which immediately precedes 65 in LrNPs. In NPs, 65 is lacking a heading.

11-12: Both praise and express gratitude to the addressees.
24-25: Both deal with the Olympic Games.
26-27: Both discuss sacrifice.
71-72: Both criticize the use of Roman names by Greeks.
77d-e: Both concern Titus.

There is, finally, a principle of grouping that is not immediately apparent: All the letters in the separately transmitted collection that also appear in full in Philostratus's *VA* are found together in two groups, 42a-h and 77a-f.[70] This seems to suggest that the *VA* itself and not, say, some ancient epistolographical anthology was the ultimate source from which these fourteen letters passed into the Byzantine epistolographical tradition.

C. *Headings and Closings* [71]

The full heading is simply "Apollonius (or whoever the sender is) to so-and-so." There is a tendency, so long as Apollonius is the sender, to delete his name and simply write the name of the addressee in the dative case. This avoids needless repetition and saves space. Τῷ αὐτῷ and Τοῖς αὐτοῖς, when appropriate, are almost always employed.

Only one letter, 77f, has χαίρειν in the heading.[72] χαίρειν or some other salutation probably originally appeared in many more or all of the letters. This is suggested by the fact that, among the letters that appear fully in both the separately transmitted collection and in Philostratus's *VA* (42a-h, 77a-f), eleven have χαίρειν in Philostratus (42a-f, 77b-f), whereas only one preserves it in the separately transmitted collection. Cod. Ps, and Ps alone, adds ὑγιαίνειν to the heading of 57, an epistolary salutation favored by Pythagoreans (Lucian, *Pro lapsu* 5).

Only three letters preserve a closing: ἔρρωσο in 42b and 77f [73] and the Pythagorean-sounding ὑγιαίνειν σε εὔχομαι in 48. Again, the desire to save space and ink and to avoid needless repetition probably led to the deletion of a closing salutation in the other letters. Among the letters that appear fully in both the separately transmitted collection and in Philostratus's *VA*, twelve have a closing

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70 In one group in LrNPs, at the end of the collection.
71 For illustration of the generalizations made below, see the text and apparatus.
72 It is omitted in 77f only by Z.
73 Omitted in 77f by Z.

in Philostratus (ἔρρωσο [42b-h, 77d-f], εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε [77b], and ἔρρωσθε ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι [77c]), but only two in the separately transmitted collection (42b, 77f). What motivated NpTMz to restore ἔρρωσο in 14 and 77d and ἔρρωσθε in 43, 47, and 53—in these and no other letters that lacked a closing—is not at all evident.

The Stobaean letters (79-100) always have the heading "Apollonius to so-and-so." [74] None of them has a closing.

III. Printed Editions

Bartholomaeus Justinopolitanus brought out an edition of the letters of Phalaris, Apollonius of Tyana, and Brutus in Venice in 1498. The letters of Apollonius of Tyana were included in the Aldine *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum sex et viginti* (Venice 1499), edited by Marcus Musurus. For the letters of Phalaris, Apollonius, and Brutus, Aldus simply reprinted Bartholomaeus's text.[75] The letters of Apollonius also appear in H. Stephanus, *Epistolia, dialogi breves, oratiunculae, poematia ex variis utriusque linguae scriptoribus* (Paris 1577); in E. Lubinus, *Epistolae Apollonii Tyanei, Anacharsidis, Euripidis, Theanus, aliorumque ad eosdem* (Heidelberg 1601) with Latin translation;[76] and in *Epistolae graecanicae mutuae* (Geneva 1606) with Latin translation falsely ascribed to J. Cuiacius.[77] The text of the letters of Apollonius in these three editions is based on the Justinopolitan-Aldine text.

G. Olearius edited the letters, not as part of an epistolographical anthology, but rather with Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii* in *Philostratorum quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1709).[78] His Greek text is an emended version of the printed vulgate: "Nobis in hac nostra

[74] For occasional corruptions (e.g., Ἀπολλωνίου or τοῦ αὐτοῦ for Ἀπολλώνιος, loss of addressee's name) in some of the manuscripts, see the Wachsmuth-Hense apparatus.

[75] I have been unable to obtain a copy of Bartholomaeus's edition (see *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* CLXXXVIII (1963) 569, s.v. "Phalaris"), for which Olearius 379 gives the date 1502. For Musurus's dependence on it, see É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles* (1885-1906, repr. 1962) I 53n.

[76] Cod. K (see above) is the printer's copy for this edition.

[77] J. S. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca* (1705-28) I 407; cf. J. Boissonade, *Theophylacti Simocattae quaestiones physicas et epistolas* (1835) xxxiii, n. 2; Kayser, p. iv of the introduction to the letters of Philostratus.

[78] Olearius's predecessor, F. Morellus, had not included the letters of Apollonius in his *Philostrati Lemnii opera quae extant* (Paris 1608). The convention of subjoining the letters to Philostratus's *VA* already appears in cod. N.

editione Stephani, et Lubini, Cuiaciique exemplaribus licuit uti, in quibus tamen exiguam in textu deprehendimus diversitatem" (p. 379). Olearius included a Latin translation and short commentary. He omitted those letters in the separately transmitted collection that also appear in the *VA* (namely, *Epp. Apoll.* 42a-h, 77a-f) because he was editing the letters and the *VA* together and saw no need to print the same letters twice (Olearius 378). The omitted letters have been restored to their rightful place in this edition;[79] we are editing a specific anthology, and nothing should be deleted from it. Olearius was the first editor of the letters to append the Stobaean material as *Epp. Apoll.* 78 ff.[80]

The nineteenth-century editor C. L. Kayser followed Olearius in including the letters of Apollonius in his edition of the *Corpus Philostrateum, Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt* (Zürich 1844). The second edition (Zürich 1853), which I have employed, merely reprints the 1844 text and apparatus of the letters. Kayser mainly used codd. Mz [81] and N.[82] He had access to some readings of Ps and noted its frequent agreement with N. A handful of Pr's variants are given in Kayser's apparatus; O is cited twice, Pa once, the 14th c. Palatinus

[79] Hercher restored them, but not to their rightful place; see my Concordance of Editions.

[80] The French translation of the letters by A. Chassang in *Apollonius de Tyane: Sa vie, ses voyages, ses prodiges par Philostrate, et ses lettres*² (1862) 395-426 is based on the text of Olearius, as is the German translation of them by G. J. Bekker in *F. Philostrati des Aeltern, Werke* (1828-55), trans. by H. F. Jacobs *et al.*

[81] The manuscript that Kayser calls "Mazarinaeus 87" must be Maz. 4454 (611A)—so far as I know, the only Maz. that contains letters of Apollonius. I find that all the readings Kayser ascribes to Maz. "87" are in fact found in Maz. 4454, with the following exceptions: Kayser reports that the Maz. has ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς in 44.2, τοῦτο for τὸ τοιοῦτον in 49, and κἀκεῖνον for ἐκεῖνον in 50. Actually these three readings are found only in PrX. Kayser knew of some readings of Pr, and in these three cases he seems erroneously to have ascribed Pr's readings to the Maz. In 35, Maz. actually has καταλείπωσιν, not καταλείπωσι as Kayser reports. In 58.4, neither Maz. (*pace* Kayser) nor any other cod. omits περὶ before μεγίστων. Kayser reports the reading of Maz. in 58.4 to be ὃς ἄν. His collator Boissonade must have read what he wanted to see. Only SAU, none of which Kayser employed, have the correct ὃς ἄν; Maz. and the rest have ὃς ἐάν. In 35, μὴ δὴ is not corrupted to μὴ δὲ in Maz., as Kayser reports. The heading of 45 in Maz. is not Ἀπολλώνιος ἀδελφῷ, Kayser's report, but only Ἀδελφῷ. These two cases may be misreadings of Maz. or simple errors in copy or proof. 35 μὴ δὲ is the reading of Pr, O, and Pa, one of which Kayser may have intended to cite; and 45 (inscriptio) Ἀπολλώνιος ἀδελφῷ is the reading of O, which Kayser may have intended to cite.

[82] Which he refers to as "Lugdunensis 73."

Gr. 356 once (and wrongly).[83] Kayser was not a zealous collator. He could not have and did not aim to achieve a clear and systematic view of the tradition. M. Schanz was to pass severe judgment: "Ich glaube nicht zu viel zu sagen, wenn ich behaupte, dass die bewunderungswürden Muster und Lehren, welche uns Lachmann und Madvig gegeben haben, an Kayser nahezu spurlos vorübergegangen sind." [84]

The letters of Apollonius also appear in Kayser's Teubner *editio minor*, *Flavii Philostrati opera* (Leipzig 1870-71). In this edition Kayser became bolder in conjecturally altering the text. Many of the conjectures that he prints in the 1870 edition had already been proposed in the apparatus of the 1844/1853 edition. The Teubner edition of the letters has served as the standard text down to the present day.

R. Hercher included the letters of Apollonius in his *Epistolographi graeci* (Paris 1873). A. Westermann had completed about half of the work on this massive compilation of Greek epistolographers (with Latin translation) before the project was handed over to Hercher. For the letters of Apollonius, Hercher relied on Kayser's 1870 text, though he attempted several conjectural improvements. He consulted cod. L_1, but only for *Epp. Apoll.* 42a-h and 77a-f.[85] I have adopted the numerical subdivisions that Hercher introduced into the longer letters, *Epp. Apoll.* 8, 11, 44, 48, 55, and 58.

F. C. Conybeare's Loeb edition, *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Eusebius* (1912, rev. 1950), with English translation, follows the text of Kayser's 1870 edition.

IV. The Question of Authenticity

"Die Frage der Echtheit der Briefe ist schwer zu beantworten ..." (Hempel 13). "In den meisten Fällen wird das Urteil immer subjektiv und unsicher bleiben" (Meyer 412). These judgments of two

[83] I have not consulted this manuscript, which according to the catalogue (H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* [1885] 204) contains only one letter of Apollonius, *Epp. Apoll.* 32. Kayser erroneously states that it contains *Epp. Apoll.* 33.

[84] *RhM* 38 (1883) 305-306. Schanz is referring specifically to *recensio* and to Kayser's edition of the *Vitae Sophistarum*.

[85] For Hercher's unmethodical use of manuscripts, note J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien* (1898) 4. Hercher incorrectly states (p. xxi) that *Epp. Apoll.* 98-112 Hercher (for which read "98-109, 111-12" Hercher) are found immediately after 42 in the Aldine ed. and in cod. L_1. Actually, only 98-105 Hercher follow 42 in Ald. and L_1; 106-109 and 111-12 Hercher are found immediately after 77.

earlier commentators on the letters of Apollonius are well worth quoting. We lack adequate and sure information on the historical Apollonius. There is no canon of Apollonius's writings of certain authenticity to compare stylistically with the letters.[86] For most of the letters we must be content with stating probabilities and setting forth tentative lines of argumentation.[87]

First, the letters that are quoted or referred to by Philostratus.[88] There is nothing inherently implausible about the letters of censure to the Tarsians,[89] to the Athenians, to the Eleans, to the grain merchants of Aspendus, or to the *koinon* of the Ionians (Appendix 1, 5, 6; *Epp. Apoll.* 77a; Philostr., *VA* 4.5) nor about the letters in which Apollonius discussed his Pythagorean way of life (Appendix 3), claimed to have sedated a satyr (App. 9), commented sarcastically on the emperor's court (App. 12), and mentioned a near victim of Domitian (App. 14).[90] But other letters in Philostratus can

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[86] In *VA* 4.27 Philostratus describes *Epp. Apoll.* 42a as βραχυτέραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς σκυτάλης. In *VA* 7.35 he remarks that he never found μακρηγορίαν in Apollonius's letters, βραχεῖαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι (see Appendix 13). From these remarks Baur 100n attempted to formulate a criterion of authenticity: "Die in der noch vorhandenen Sammlung der Briefe des Apollonius . . . enthaltenen können schon desswegen nicht alle ächt sein, weil nicht alle den Charakter lakonischer Kürze, die Philostratus als Merkmal der Briefe des Apollonius angibt . . . , an sich tragen." But though brevity would be a natural affectation in the letters of a Pythagorean (cf. Julian, *Epp.* 40 Bidez; *Epp. Apoll.* 92-94), *VA* 4.27 does not imply that all Apollonius's letters were short. And in *VA* 7.35 Philostratus is arguing against the genuineness of a long letter attributed to Apollonius; when he says that he never (οὐδὲ . . . πω) found μακρηγορίαν in Apollonius's letters, he may be exaggerating to help his argument. Or it may be that the longer letters of Apollonius were not among those that Philostratus had been able to collect. In any case, brevity and prolixity, as the Philostratean Apollonius said on one occasion, are not contrary talents (*VA* 8.2). Ironically, the longest letter in the separately transmitted collection, *Epp. Apoll.* 58, has been regarded, at least since Cichorius's discussion (in Norden 337 ff.), as among the more probably genuine ones (Meyer 412, Hempel 20, Wilamowitz 307, Petzke 44).

[87] In the commentary I refer to the author of the letters as "Apollonius" for convenience. I do not thereby intend to express a judgment about the authenticity of a given letter.

[88] See above, p. 2.

[89] Though the narrative in the course of which the letter to the Tarsians is quoted deals with an only fourteen-year old Apollonius, Philostratus's remarks about the letter do not necessarily imply that it was written by an adolescent Apollonius; see Appendix 1.

[90] The letters should be differentiated from their Philostratean matrix. We should allow the possibility that, at least in some cases, Philostratus misused or misunderstood letters, that possibly genuine letters have been incorporated into an historically unreliable narrative.

be condemned or at least seriously suspected on historical grounds. So long as Apollonius's friendship with Musonius Rufus, Demetrius the Cynic, and Dio Chrysostom remains suspect, so do the letters to those three individuals (*Epp. Apoll.* 42b-e, 77e; Philostr., *VA* 5.40; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 9, 10, and 90). The letters referred to and quoted at Philostr., *VA* 4.27 (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 42a), are tied to the spurious tale of Apollonius's stimulation of a moral reform at Sparta in the middle of the first century.[91] Few will believe that Apollonius wrote to emperors and near emperors or that they wrote to him (Appendix 10, 11, 15, 16; *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h, 77d, 77f).[92] Finally, all letters tied to the Philostratean account of Apollonius's eastern travels merit no more credence than does that account itself (Appendix 2, 4, 7; *Epp. Apoll.* 77b-c; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 78).[93]

If there are spurious letters in the *Vita Apollonii*, who wrote them? Philostratus himself or an earlier fabricator? A similar question arises with respect to the main source of the *VA*, Damis's memoirs.[94] If one believes that Philostratus himself invented Damis, it will be easy to assume that the sophist invented letters as well. Similarly, once it is conceded, as it generally is,[95] that the long apology attributed to Apollonius (*VA* 8.7) is entirely the work of Philostratus himself, it is easy to regard the letter from Vespasian (*Epp. Apoll.* 77f), quoted in the apology, as part of Philostratus's handiwork. However, certainty cannot be reached; Philostratus may have only inherited products of (an) earlier inventor(s). He explicitly rejects—and hence informs us of—one earlier invention (if he is right in so labeling it), the letter mentioned in *VA* 7.35 (see

[91] See my opening comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 63.

[92] Equally unbelievable are the letters to Domitian and to a Scythian king in the separately transmitted collection (*Epp. Apoll.* 20, 21, 28). But it is possible that these and other letters in the separately transmitted collection and in Stobaeus were written by Apollonius as literary affectations, that they were written by him for all to read and were given the fictitious form of missives to specific individuals. Cf. Wilamowitz 312-13. The same possibility obtains for letters in Philostratus: Although Philostratus presents them as real missives of Apollonius and gives them an historical context, some of them may have originally been only epistolary affectations. For letters of Apollonius (some of them) as apophthegms in the guise of missives, cf. also Meyer 411-12, Petzke 122.

[93] R. J. Penella, *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 295-96. To discredit the Philostratean account is not to disallow the possibility that Apollonius did travel to the East.

[94] See above, n. 3.

[95] See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 28, Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Appendix 13). Philostratus is inconsistent in reporting the dramatic date of the letter to Scopelian that is referred to and then quoted at *VA* 1.23-24 (see Appendix 2); his imprecision suggests that he did not invent this letter himself, but rather that he incorporated an earlier fabrication.[96] One might assume that Philostratus himself is more likely to be the fabricator of the directly quoted letters than of those only referred to in passing. The directly quoted letters enliven and fill out the narrative, like direct speeches in ancient histories. But the directly and fully quoted letters to and from Musonius (*Epp. Apoll.* 42b-e) should probably be assigned to an earlier inventor: Since Musonius, not Apollonius, appears as the nobler figure in this correspondence, it seems unlikely that Philostratus, whose main purpose is to glorify Apollonius, would have invented them.[97] He quoted them, despite the luster that they cast on Musonius, to show that his hero was a close associate of a prominent first century philosopher and opponent of Nero. Petzke's attempt (p. 122) to establish *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h (see Philostr., *VA* 5.41) as pre-Philostratean by arguing that they show Apollonius at odds with Vespasian and thus clash with Philostratus's portrayal of their otherwise friendly relationship is not convincing.[98] Philostratus portrays Apollonius as approving of all Vespasian's acts except his treatment of Greece, the subject of *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h. There is nothing forced about this portrayal; we expect Apollonius to express moral indignation when and towards whomever he feels it. Thus, the possibility that Philostratus himself composed *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h cannot be excluded.

Most of the letters that we have are preserved exclusively in the separately transmitted collection and in Stobaeus. These letters have no Philostratus to act as their introducer and commenter. They offer a good deal of information about Apollonius that is not found in Philostratus's life of the sage. Most of this supplementary information can coexist with the material in the *Vita Apollonii*.

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[96] R. J. Penella, *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 297-98. Cf. Jessen 8, Hempel 14, Petzke 122. But Jessen went too far in assuming that Philostratus invented no letters.

[97] Cf. Hempel 14, Petzke 122. The inventor's main purpose must have been to glorify Musonius. But Grosso 374-75 assigned these letters to Philostratus: "Evidentemente la figura di Musonio esercitava su Filostrato un tale fascino da offuscare la sua simpatia verso il Tianeo."

[98] Grosso 409, on the same grounds as Petzke, believes that *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h are not merely pre-Philostratean, but genuine as well. Cf. Hempel 14.

Occasionally the *VA* and the separately transmitted letters clash.[99] *Epp. Apoll.* 8.1 and 43 disagree with the *VA* on Apollonius's bathing habits. *Epp. Apoll.* 10 and 34 differ from the *VA* on the question of Apollonius's attitude towards the usefulness of speaking before large audiences. *Epp. Apoll.* 26 is discordant with both the *VA* and with *Epp. Apoll.* 27 on Apollonius's view of religious sacrifice. *Epp. Apoll.* 53 does not fit into the chronology of the *VA*. *Epp. Apoll.* 58 fails to present the doctrine of metempsychosis, attributed to the Pythagorean Apollonius in the *VA*. *Epp. Apoll.* 14 and 64 may contradict the *VA* on the question of invitations of Apollonius to Italy and Sparta respectively, and *Epp. Apoll.* 24 may do so on the question of Apollonius's attendance at the Olympic Games.[100]

If we had fuller information on Apollonius, at least some of these differences between the *Vita Apollonii* and separately transmitted letters might prove to be reconcilable and only apparent. Still, let us assume for the sake of argument that we are dealing with genuine contradictions. Which version (if either) is the historical one? If the letters in question are genuine, the answer is obvious. But even if they are fabrications, it is possible that they are based on a biographical tradition that is older and more reliable than the *VA*.[101] In some of the above cases it is easy to see why Philostratus might have rejected the version of the separately transmitted letters, if in fact that version was available to him. An Apollonius who absolutely refused to bathe (*Epp. Apoll.* 8.1 and 43) might have seemed too uncouth to Philostratus. The Philostratean Apollonius, like so many of the sophists in Philostratus's *Vitae Sophistarum*, is a public figure, who throughout his life attracted attention through his public preaching; thus an Apollonius who rejected public speaking (*Epp. Apoll.* 10 and 34) will have seemed too removed from the public eye to suit Philostratus. If *Epp. Apoll.* 14 implies that Apollonius was never invited to Italy by an emperor, Philostratus will have had to ignore it, since he is committed to the idea of an

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[99] Of course, the *absence* in the separately transmitted collection of some information that is found in the *VA* is not a clash. Meyer 410, e.g. (cf. Wilamowitz 311), was wrong to see necessary significance in the fact that no letter in the separately transmitted collection alludes to Apollonius's alleged travels in the western provinces. The separately transmitted collection is not a full collection; and even if it were, the letters in it would not have touched on every aspect of the sage's biography.

[100] For details on all these cases, see the commentary.

[101] For this notion, cf. Meyer 412.

Apollonius who was admired and summoned to Rome by several emperors. Philostratus, author of the *Gymnasticus*, was enthusiastic about the Greek athletic tradition; he would have preferred to ignore the belittlement of the Olympic Games found in *Epp. Apoll.* 24.[102] He may have over-Pythagoreanized Apollonius and consequently ignored notices, such as *Epp. Apoll.* 58, that made the sage seem eclectic and not an orthodox Pythagorean.[103] If letters to Domitian such as *Epp. Apoll.* 20 and 21 were already in existence in Philostratus's day and available to him, he may have thought them to be too polite and mild to suit his Apollonius, an outspoken opponent of the Flavian tyrant. Philostratus would have had reason, as I suggest in my commentary, to pass over a letter, *Epp. Apoll.* 28, to a Scythian king. But I would not want to end this discussion emphasizing discrepancies between the *VA* and the separately transmitted letters. For the most part, the Apollonius of the letters and the Philostratean Apollonius are concordant personalities.[104]

Spurious letters in the *Vita Apollonii* were either invented by Philostratus or inherited by him from an earlier fabricator. A motive for their invention is easy to divine: Apollonius's followers and subsequent second century admirers will have sought, like Philostratus himself, to demonstrate their hero's importance, fame, and true philosophical nature through the fabrication of letters.[105] Apollonius had his detractors in the century after his death (note Lucian, *Alex.* 5; Origen, *Contra Cels.* 6.41 [cf. Philostr., *VA* 1.3]); and they, in turn, may have invented letters in support of their unflattering view of the sage.[106]

The fourth and early fifth centuries were also a time when there are good grounds to speculate that letters of Apollonius may have been fabricated, by the sage's pagan admirers. Philostratus's biography, written with Julia Domna's encouragement and shortly after the erection of a shrine at Tyana in Apollonius's honor by Caracalla (Dio Cass. 77.18; Philostr., *VA* 1.3, 8.31), was well known in late antiquity.[107] Admiration of the sage among pagans seems to

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[102] Cf. Meyer 406.

[103] Cf. Hempel 19-20.

[104] *Pace* Meyer 409-411; cf. Grosso 360-61.

[105] I am excluding from consideration here the correspondence with Musonius; see above, p. 26.

[106] But we know only of one, the letter of Appendix 13, if Philostratus is correct in condemning it as a forgery.

[107] Eusebius's *Contra Hieroclem* is more a refutation of Philostratus's *VA* than of Hierocles. It is likely that the Diocletianic Soterichus's life of

reach a peak in the fourth century. Themistius mentions Apollonius in conjunction with Plato and Musonius Rufus (*Orat.* 6.72D [p. 107 Schenkl-Downey]), Libanius mentions him in association with Plato, Isocrates, Sophocles, and Gorgias (*Orat.* 4.4 [p. 288 Foerster]). For Ammianus Marcellinus, Apollonius is *amplissimus ille philosophus*, who, like Pythagoras, Socrates, and other illustrious individuals, owed his fame to his reliance on the special support of *genii* (Amm. Marc. 21.14.5, 23.6.19). Eunapius praises Apollonius and his philosophy, remarking that Philostratus should have entitled his biography Ἐπιδημία ἐς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ (*VS* 454, 500). Apollonius is commemorated on Theodosian contorniates.[108] He also figures in the *Historia Augusta*. According to that biographical compilation, Alexander Severus had an image of Apollonius in his *lararium* (*Alex. Sev.* 29.2) [109] and Aurelian experienced a wondrous vision of the sage (*Aurel.* 24.2 ff.). The author of the *Aurelianus* extols Apollonius: *celeberrimae famae auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum vere deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum .... quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilius, antiquius, diviniusque inter homines fuit?* And, perhaps, the author continues, if he lives long enough, he will himself write a biography of Apollonius. Finally, in late antiquity pagans compared Apollonius to Christ, a comparison that elicited replies from Christian apologists.[110] There is a good chance, then, that if there are fabricated letters in the separately transmitted collection and in Stobaeus, at least some of them were made in the fourth or early fifth century, an age of intensified admiration for and controversy about Apollonius.[111]

Apollonius relied heavily on Philostratus (*Suda*, s.v. Σωτήριχος). See Eunap., *VS* 454; Sid. Apoll., *Epp.* 8.3.1, with the note in A. Loyen's Budé text. SHA, *Aurel.* 24.8, *Graecos ... libros qui de eius* [sc., *Apollonii*] *vita conscripti sunt*, doubtless include Philostratus's *VA*.

[108] A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (1943) 18, 90; S. Settis, *Athenaeum* 50 (1972) 244-45. Another document that attests to the honor in which Apollonius was held, *ILS* 2918, is undated.

[109] It is possible that Alexander, like Caracalla and Julia Domna, really did honor Apollonius. However, the *Historia Augusta*'s notice may be nothing but fourth century propaganda.

[110] Petzke 5-10.

[111] But I see no compelling reason to believe that any of the separately transmitted letters (*pace* Hempel 15, 17-18, 22; cf. Petzke 120-21) or letters in Stobaeus were made directly from the text of Philostratus's *VA*.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Group I

Lr	Athous Lavra Ω 123, 13th c.
N	Leidensis B.P.G. 73D, first half of 14th c. (?)
Ps	Parisinus Gr. 1428, 14th c.
L_2	Mediceus Laurentianus 57.12, 15th c.
M	Matritensis 4637, 15th c.
F	Ambrosianus Gr. 81, 10th c.
Vd	Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 342, 11th c.
B	Baroccianus 56, late 14th c.

Group II

S	Reginensis Gr. 104, 15th c. (after 1462)
A	Vaticanus Gr. 95, 15th c. (after 1462)
U	Parisinus Gr. 2992, 16th c.
Np	Neapolitanus Gr. III A 15, 15th c.
T	Vaticanus Gr. 1354, 15th-16th cc.
Mz	Mazarinaeus Gr. 4454, 16th c.
Ald.	Aldine edition, 1499
K	Palatinus Gr. 419, 15th-16th cc. (before 1601)
E	Seldenianus Supra 16, 16th c.
V	Vaticanus Gr. 1353, 1462
R	Matritensis 4557, late 15th c.
H	Harleianus 5635, 15th c.
O	D'Orville 112, 15th c.
C	Vaticanus Gr. 1461, 15th c.
Q	Vossianus Gr. Q. 51, second half of 15th c.
J	Mutinensis Gr. 54, 15th c.
Pa	Parisinus Gr. 3050, 15th c.
P	Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 205, 15th-16th cc.
W	Palatinus Gr. 134, 15th-16th cc.
L_1	Mediceus Laurentianus 57.12, 15th c.
Z	Mediceus Laurentianus 57.45, 15th c.
Pr	Parisinus Gr. 3047, 1420
X	Urbinas Gr. 132, 1420

Other conventions

A^{ac}: A ante correctionem. A^{pc}: A post vel per correctionem. A^{ar}: A ante rasuram. A^{pr}: A post vel per rasuram. A^{m}: A in margine. A^{sl}: A supra lineam. [ ]: conjectural deletion. < >: conjectural supplement. Φαβούλ(λ)αν, εὐτύχει (καὶ) εὐτυχεῖτε [in app. crit.]: either Φαβούλαν or Φαβούλλαν, either εὐτύχει εὐτυχεῖτε or εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε. τάδε μὲν . . . θεράπευέ σου: all the words in the text from τάδε μὲν through θεράπευέ σου. A superscript or question mark in a sequence of sigla refers only to the siglum immediately preceding it. Several conjectures of Spengel and Hamaker are cited *teste* Kayser.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ

1. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἤ τι τοιοῦτον γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων οὔτε νῦν ἐστι φιλία, μήτε ὕστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἷς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ· θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεί σοι καὶ γῆρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

2. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει μαθήσει [κτήσει] χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἂν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον εἴ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστείας παυστέον λοιπὸν ἢ προῖκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἤδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύξου.

3. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπῆλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις διπλαῖς. τρίβων δ' ἦν σοί ποτε καὶ πώγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν ἔμπορος.

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1 ΕΠ. ΑΠ. ΤΟΥ ΤΥΑΝ. LrNL$_2$ Ald. KZPr ΕΠ. ΑΠ. ΤΥΑΝ. PsM ΑΠ. ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΕΠ. F ΕΠ. ΑΠ. ΤΥΑΝΙΕΩΣ [sic] (ΤΥΑΝ. om. E) ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΙΚΟΥ SE ΕΠ. ΑΠ. ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ VR et add. in marg. ΤΟΥ ΜΑΓΟΥ ΚΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ V deest titulus in VdB. ΕΠ. ΑΠ. rell. 2 Ἀπολλώνιος om. NPsKJPaPWPrX deest epistulae initium in Lr 4 τοιοῦτον LrNPsZPrX -ο rell. | post ἐστι add. ποτε LrNPsZ^{sl} 5 τάδε μὲν . . . θεράπευέ σου] τάδε μὲν οὖν σοι· προσθεράπευε δέ σου LrNPs 7 καὶ μὴ . . . φιλοσοφοῦσιν om. LrNPs | φθόνει PrX, fort. recte 10

1. Apollonius to Euphrates:

I am on friendly terms with philosophers; but with sophists, teachers, or any other such kind of wretched men I am not now on friendly terms, and I hope never to be so in the future. These remarks are not aimed at you, unless you are one of the latter group; but the following remarks most certainly are aimed at you: attend to your emotions and try to be a philosopher and not to resent those who are truly philosophers, since you are already close to old age and death.

2. To the same person:

Virtue is acquired through natural disposition, learning, and habit; and for the sake of virtue each of these avenues would be deemed worthy of approval. You should consider whether or not you have any of these foundations of virtue; and if you do not, you must henceforth end your teaching or at least make it available free of charge to whoever comes your way. For you already have the wealth of a Megabyxus.

3. To the same person:

You have visited the provinces between Italy and Syria, from where you began, displaying yourself in "kingly clothes," as they are called. Once you had a plain cloak and a long white beard and nothing more. So how is it that you now return by sea with a ship full of silver, gold, all kinds of goods, clothing of various colors, every other sort of material adornment, conceit and deception and wretchedness? What is this cargo? What sort of strange merchandise is this? Zeno traded in nothing but dried fruits.

μαθήσει del. Kayser [κτήσει] Olearius | 'Η ἀρετὴ . . . χρήσει] 'Η ἀρετὴ φιλομαθής· εἰ κτήσῃ, χρήσῃ LrNPs 'Η ἀρετὴ φιλομαθής· εἰ κτήσῃ in marg., -η in textu supra κτήσει et χρήσει scripto Z 13 τὰ Μεγαβύξου scripsi μετὰ βύξου LrNPs τὰ μεγα βυζαντίου V^{ac}R τὰ μεγαβύζου (-βιζ- E) rell. 15 ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν] ἐπιδείκνυσί γε αὐτὸν LrNPs 16 διπλαῖς. τρίβων δ'ἦν] διπλοῦς δή LrPs διπλῆ δή N 17 ποτε Olearius τότε codd. 18 ἀργύρου LrNPs | χρυσίου om. LrNPs 20 καινῆς] κενῆς LrNPs 21 Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν] τοῦ ζῆν ὡς τραγημάτων (πραγμάτων Lr) LrNPs Ζήνων τραγημάτων S

4. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ὀλίγων δεῖ σου τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἴησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εἴη μεγάλῃ σπουδῇ νεῖμαί σέ τισιν ἔνια τῶν ὄντων· ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

5. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δ' ἀντιλέγων προκομιεῖς τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπταί τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν· "Εὐφράτης ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν." Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν.

6. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἠρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. "τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν;" ἔφασαν. ἠρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. ᾐτιῶντο τὸν πλοῦτον. σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

7. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐὰν [ὅτι τάχος] εἰς Αἰγὰς ἀφίκῃ καὶ κενώσῃς ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἰτέον ἐστί σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας, γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομένους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δ' εἴη τὴν ἁλίαν τρυπᾶν ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

8. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

(1) Ἆρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἄν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα· "λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολλώνιος παραιτεῖται." καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε πρόεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. "οὐδὲν ὁρᾶται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν." δι' ὅλου γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. "κομᾷ τὴν κεφαλήν." καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἕλλην, ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ

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8 fort. del. καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς ut glossema? | καὶ ante κατὰ om. LrNPs 11 πάλιν ἔλαβεν] παρέλαβεν LrNPs, Z γρ. supra lin. 13 εἰ πικραίνονται Kayser εἰ περαίνονται codd. εἴπερ ἀνιῶνται Olearius 14 ante ᾐτιῶντο add. καὶ NPs (Kayser) 17 ὅτι τάχος delevi | Αἰγέας Lr | post ναῦν add. ὅτι τάχος Lr 18

4. To the same person:

You need little for your children if they are the children of a philosopher. You should not have been intent upon acquiring more than what is necessary, especially since this brings with it a bad name. But since this has already happened, the next best thing you could do would be to distribute some of your possessions to others as quickly as possible. You do have both a fatherland and friends.

5. To the same person:

Of Epicurus's treatises, the one on pleasure no longer needs an advocate from the Garden and Epicurus's own school, for a most convincing advocate has appeared in the Stoa. But if in rebuttal you bring forth the lectures and theories of Chrysippus, let me call your attention to something written in the imperial records: "Euphrates accepted a sum of money" and "Euphrates accepted a sum of money again." But Epicurus would not have accepted any.

6. To the same person:

I asked certain rich men if they are vexed. "How could we not be?" they said. Then I asked them the cause of this suffering. They blamed their riches. And you, wretched fellow, are a nouveau riche.

7. To the same person:

Whenever you reach Aegae and unload your ship there, you have to return to Italy immediately and pay court to all alike, to the sick, to old men and women, to orphans, the wealthy, the dissolute, and to every Midas and Getas. They say the merchant must let out all the reefs. But for myself, I would rather wear a hole through my salt cellar in a house dedicated to Themis.

8. To the same person:

(1) Would you, too, care to charge me with something? I wish you would be honest enough to do so. You could make these typical and obvious accusations: "Apollonius absolutely refuses to take a bath." True, but he never comes out of his house and he keeps his feet healthy. "He is never seen moving any part of his body." The reason is that his soul is what is always in motion. "He wears his hair long." And so does the Greek, because he is a Greek and not a

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post πάλιν om. ὅτι τάχος LrS 23 γράψαιο Kayser, ed. min. -αις codd. 24 post συνήθη add. σοι Lr 26 κινῶν] -ούμενον Lr

οὐ βάρβαρος. "ἐσθῆτα φορεῖ λινῆν." καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ καθαρώτατα. "μαντικῇ χρῆται." πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθέσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. "ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον." ὃ πρέπει καὶ θεῷ; (2) "καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὀδύνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ πάθη παύει." τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα. "σιτεῖται μόνος." οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. "βραχέα λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ." σιγῆσαι γάρ ἐστιν ἀδύνατος. "σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων." διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν. εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, Εὐφρᾶτα, γεγράφθαι, ἴσως ἐκεῖνο προσθήσεις· "εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἂν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας." εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν. "ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἄν." οὐ πατρὶς δέ, ἡ μὴ οἶδεν ὃ ἔχει.

9. Ἀπολλώνιος Δίωνι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρᾳ κρεῖττόν ἐστι τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοὔνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τἀληθὲς εὑρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἣν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῇς.

10. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ζητοῦσί τινες τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. ἰδέτωσαν οὖν οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀδύνατος ὠφελῆσαι λόγος ἅπας, ὃς ἂν εἷς ὢν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἕνα λέγηται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἥττων ὢν διαλέγοιτ' ἄν.

11. Ἀπολλώνιος Καισαρέων προβούλοις.

(1) Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα

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1 ἱερῶν] ἱερέων Kayser καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐρεῶν καθαρώτερα propos. Hercher 7 ἀδύνατος] δυνατός Olearius <οὐκ> ἀδύνατος Kayser, ed. min. ἀδύνατον Lr 12 Ἀπολλώνιος om. LrNPsNpTMzKVR 13 ἐστι] ἦν LrNPs | γὰρ om. LrNPs 14 τοὔνομα LrNPs ὄνομα rell. 15 post τοῦτο add. γραπτέον omnes praeter

barbarian. "He wears linen clothing." These are the purest garments of holy men. "He practices divination." Yes, because there are many things which cannot be perceived by the senses, and there is no other way to foresee the future. "But such behavior does not befit a philosopher." Do you say that what befits a god does not befit a philosopher? (2) "He relieves men of physical suffering and ends their distress." I suppose that an identical charge could be brought against Asclepius. "He eats alone". But the rest of mankind gorge themselves. "He says few words and speaks briefly." Yes, because he cannot be completely silent. "He abstains from all meat and from the flesh of animals." This proves that he is human. If you admit that you have already made these charges against me, Euphrates, perhaps you will add the following: "If there had been an opportunity, he would have accepted money, gifts, and grants of citizenship, as I have done." If there had been an opportunity, he would not have accepted them. "But surely he would have accepted such honors on behalf of his fatherland." A land which does not know what it possesses is not one's fatherland.

9. Apollonius to Dio:

It is better to entertain with flutes and the lyre than by rational discourse. For the former objects are instruments of pleasure and the art associated with them is called music, whereas rational discourse reveals the truth. You must achieve and speak the truth if the truth is really what you pursue.

10. To the same person:

Some people ask me why I have ceased lecturing before the masses. Well, let those who care to know understand why: Any single discourse which is not addressed to a single person is incapable of benefiting anyone. Thus, one who lectures otherwise does so because he has been overcome by a desire for recognition.

11. Apollonius to the *probouloi* of the Caesareans:

(1) In the first place men need the gods, for everything and above everything else, and secondly they need cities. Cities should be

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LrNPs, quod habuit etiam Z ante ras. 15 φιλοσοφῆς] καὶ φιλόσοφος LrNPs φιλόσοφος Z^{pc} 18 ἰδέτωσαν LrNPs εἰδ- rell. | οὖν om. $LrNPsZ^{pr}$ | μέλοι LrN μέλλοι Z μέλει Ps 21 Ἀπολλώνιος om. NpTMzKVRZPrX

πόλεων· τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς ἔτι τε ἤθεσι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε θαυμαστέα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλῳ δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ τὸ προκριτικόν, ἂν ᾖ τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν· (2) ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄρχῃ πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἕνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλις οὖσα καὶ τοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἄπωθεν, τί ἂν τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῖν <ἢ> ἀλλ[ηλ]οις τισὶν ἄξιον εἴη; τοῦτο μόνον ἴσως, εἰ θεοφιλής τις ὢν τύχοι διά τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὔχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἥσθην ἤθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

12. Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλις, ἥτις ἂν οὕτως πρός τε θεοὺς ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτή τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον· ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ μόνον <οὐ> ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίαν εὑρεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους· ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τά γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός. καὶ τὸ ἐθελῆσαι δ' ἄν με παρ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἂν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς

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5 ἐμοί τε Spengel ἔμοιγε codd. 7 προκριτικόν, ἂν ᾖ] προκριτικὸν ἂν εἴη Kayser | fort. <ἐν> τῶν πολλῶν? 8 πόλις οὖσα καὶ] ποιοῦσα Wilamowitz 9 ἄπωθεν ZPrX ἄποθεν rell. in Z[m] invenitur hoc scholium: τὸ ἄπωθεν πάντες ἔγραψαν ποιηταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες. | τί ἂν Wilamowitz τί ἢ codd. | ὑμῖν <ἢ> ἀλλ[ηλ]οις

accorded a place second only to the gods, and every sensible man should give priority to the affairs of his city. But if what is at issue is not merely a city, but the greatest city of Palestine and the most outstanding of the cities of that region for its size, its laws, its customs, the bravery in war of its past generations and, even more, their behavior in times of peace—and such is your city—then surely both I and every other sensible man must marvel at it and esteem it above all other cities. Everyone agrees that the possession of such qualities is the basis for preferring one thing over others, if the thing under comparison is typical of its class. (2) But whenever a city also takes the initiative in honoring an individual, though he is unacquainted with the city and an outsider, what would be suitable for such a man to give in return either to you or to any others like you? Perhaps this alone, if through fitness of character he happens to be a friend of the gods: to pray that the city fare well and to be fortunate enough to have his prayer fulfilled. This is what I should like endlessly to do on your behalf, for I was pleased by your city's Greek culture, which manifests its distinct excellence even in your official correspondence. As for Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius, a young man of very strong character, of a character worthy of your renown, I shall try with the help of good fortune to make him a useful citizen for you in every respect.

12. To the *probouloi* of the Seleucians:

A city that is so well disposed towards the gods and towards men worthy of approval is both fortunate itself and aids those to whose merit it attests in their pursuit of virtue. To initiate an act of kindness is not difficult—in fact it is the noblest action that men can take. But to find an appropriate repayment is far from easy, and to find one exactly equal to the original act of kindness is impossible, for what is second in order can never be first in nature. Therefore, it is necessary to appeal to God on your behalf to reward you, you who surpass us both in what you are capable of doing and in what you actually have done. For no mortal can do such things as you have done. And as for your desire that I be among you, I consider that also to be part of your act of kindness

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τισὶν scripsi ὑμῖν (ἡμῖν K) ἀλλήλοις τισὶν codd. ὑμῖν <ἢ> ἀλλήλοις ποιεῖν Wilamowitz ὑμῶν ἂν πρὸς τίσιν Kayser, ed. min. 18 οὕτω Np Ald. KE 21 <οὐ> al. man. in marg. T (et Olearius per conj.) 23 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν T^pc RHO CQ ὑμῶν, superscripto ἡ- V

ἔγωγ' ἂν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γεγενῆσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι καὶ φίλοι, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

13. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἴχεται, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λεγομένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς δ' ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἴπερ ἦν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι, τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἴπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

14. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ.

Πυνθάνονταί μου πολλοὶ πολλάκις τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφθεὶς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἰδέναι μοι μέλον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεοίμην ἕτερον λέγειν ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην;

15. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾷ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὤνιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσπότας ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

16. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Μάγους οἴει δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Διὸς οἶμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοί τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

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1 γεγεννῆσθαι SAHQL_1Z (Kayser per conj.) γεννῆσθαι NpT ?Mz 14 Ἀπολλώνιος habet solus F 16 post ἀφικόμην add. ἄν LrNPsZ^{pc} 17 ἀποκρίνομαι LrNPsZ^{pc} 18 εἰδέναι] εἶναί LrNPs | μέλον] μέλλον Lr^{ar} ut vid., NPsANpT, Mz^{pc} ut vid., VRL_1 19 μᾶλλον ἂν LrNPs ἂν μᾶλλον rell. | ad finem add.

towards me; I, too, should like to have been among you. Your envoys, Hieronymus and Zeno, are all the more esteemed by me since they are also my friends.

13. To the same persons:

Strato has passed away, having left all his mortal remains on earth. But we who are still being punished here—in other words, who are still alive—must take care of his affairs. Therefore, let us each undertake one task or another, as we should, either now or in the future, some of us as his relatives, others simply as his friends. For there will be no other occasion for us to be known as his relatives or friends—if, that is, there was any truth to those titles in the past. I especially wish to be of service to you on this occasion, and so I shall myself educate Alexander, his son by Seleucis, and give him a share of my knowledge. Of course, I would have given him a share of my money, too—I who give far greater things—if it were right for him to have it.

14. Apollonius to Euphrates:

Many people frequently ask me why I have not been summoned to Italy or, if summoned, why I did not go, as you and others have done. I shall not respond to the first question lest I give the impression of knowing the reason, when in fact I do not care to know; but concerning the second question, why should I say anything other than that I would have preferred to be summoned than to go?

15. To the same person:

Plato said that virtue has no master. If a person does not honor this precept and rejoice in it, but instead can be bought by money, he creates many masters over himself.

16. To the same person:

You think that you should call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magi, and likewise, I suppose, those who follow Orpheus. But I think that even those who follow Zeus should be called magi, provided that they are godly and just.

ἔρρωσο NpTMz 26 Διὸς] τοῦ Διὸς SNpTMzVHOCL$_1$, Z postea eraso τοῦ? (cf. τοτοῦ [sic] Διὸς Q) τοῦ δεῖνος Spengel 27 θεῖοί] θεοί LrNPsFAU

17. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Μάγους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θεῖος. σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

18. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαίως ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

19. Ἀπολλώνιος Σκοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ.

Πέντε εἰσὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικανικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων τῇ τάξει, πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἴδιος ὤν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεὴς εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἄριστον δυσεύρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὥστε οἰκειότερος ἑκάστῳ χαρακτὴρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

20. Ἀπολλώνιος Δομετιανῷ.

Εἴ σοι δύναμίς ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐστί, καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἴη σοι κτητέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως· δεῖται γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὥσπερ ὄψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὄψεως.

21. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὖ πάσχειν.

22. Λεσβώνακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

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2 θείους Kayser, ed. min. θεοὺς codd. 6 ἐστὶν] om. LrNPsF οὖν καὶ B | ἐγκαλυπτέος] ἐγκαλύπτου LrNPsBZ 8 Ἀπολλώνιος habet solus F 9 ἱστορικός] ῥητορικός F 10 ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός om. LrNPs 16 Ἀπολλώνιος Δομετιανῷ B Δομετιανῷ LrNPsF Σκοπελιανῷ PrX Τῷ αὐτῷ [sc.,

17. To the same person:

The Persians call godly men magi. Thus a magus is a worshiper of the gods or one who is of a godly nature. But you are not a magus, you are a godless man.

18. To the same person:

The natural philosopher Heraclitus said that man is irrational by nature. If this is true, as it is, then everyone who is vainly held in repute should hide his face in shame.

19. Apollonius to Scopelian the sophist:

There are five styles of discourse in all: the philosophical, the historical, the forensic, the epistolary, and the style employed in memoirs. But despite this orderly array of styles, first in rank is the style that is proper to a person because it is in accordance with his innate capacity or nature, and second in rank is the style that seeks to imitate the best, in cases where a person is lacking natural endowments. However, the best is hard to discover and hard to judge, so that the style that is proper to a person is more suitable, since it is more secure.

20. Apollonius to Domitian:

If you have power, as in fact you do, you would also have to acquire wisdom. And likewise if you had wisdom but lacked power, then you would need power. For each of these always needs the other, just as vision needs light and light needs vision.

21. To the same person:

You must keep away from the barbarians and not rule over them. For, since they are barbarians, it is not right that they should fare well.

22. To Lesbonax:

Poverty should be borne in a manly fashion, wealth in a humane fashion.

Σκοπελιανῷ] rell. praeter Z, qui habet Τῷ αὐτῷ [sc., Σκοπελιανῷ]: Δομετιανῷ, i.e., duas lectiones iuxta positas 21 αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους LrNPsF βαρβάρους αὐτοὺς rell.

23. Κρίτωνι.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ζῷον οὐκ ἂν ὑγιαίνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

24. Ἑλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἠλείοις.

Ἀξιοῦτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θέαν καὶ ἅμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

25. Πελοποννησίοις.

Ὀλύμπια τὸ δεύτερον· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

26. Τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἄν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτώμενος ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὖ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

27. Τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Αἵματι βωμοὺς μιαίνουσιν ἱερεῖς. εἶτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυστυχήσωσιν. ὢ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἐφεσίους ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

28. Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἴ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο. καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἑκὼν ἂν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἴει δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

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5 Ἑλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἠλείοις] Ἑλλανοδικ Lr Ἑλλανοδίκαν N Ἑλλανοδίκῃ, superscripto -οις Ps 9 Πελοποννησίοις] Πελοπονησίοις [sic] καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ Ἕλλησιν F Τιβέριος Πελοπονησίοις [sic] NPs Τιβέριος add. Z supra lin. 12 Τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις] Τοῖς ἐν Ὀλ. νεωκόροις Lr Νεωκόροις NPs Τοῖς ἐν Ὀλ. θεκόροις [sic]: Νεωκόροις, i.e., duae lectiones juxta positae Z pro θεηκό-

23. To Crito:

Pythagoras said that the practice of medicine is the most godly enterprise. But if it is the most godly enterprise, the soul must also be cared for along with the body; otherwise a living being, if its better part is sick, cannot be in good health.

24. To the Hellanodikai and the Eleans:

You think that my presence at the Olympic Games would be fitting, and thus you have sent envoys to me. And I would be present at your spectacle of physical competition, if I did not have to abandon the greater arena of virtue.

25. To the Peloponnesians:

The Olympic Games are the second phase. In the first phase you used to be enemies; in the second phase you are not yet friends.

26. To the priests of Olympia:

The gods do not need sacrifices. Then what can one do to please them? Acquire wisdom, it seems to me, and do good to honorable men as far as one is able. That is what is dear to the gods; sacrifice is the occupation of the godless.

27. To the priests of Delphi:

Priests pollute altars with blood. And then some people wonder why their cities, whenever they are in serious trouble, suffer misfortune. What stupidity! Heraclitus was wise, but not even he was able to persuade the Ephesians not to try to wash away mud with mud.

28. To a king of the Scythians:

Zamolxis was a good man and a philosopher, since he was a pupil of Pythagoras. And if in his time the Romans had been such as they are now, he would have willingly been their friend. But if you think you must endure strife and toil on behalf of freedom, be known as a philosopher, that is a free man.

ροις propos. θεηκόλοις Kayser   13 οὐ δέονται] οὐκ ἐπιδέονται LrNPs   18 δυστυχήσωσιν] δυσθετήσωσιν Kayser, ed. min. | ὢ τῆς ἀμαθίας om. LrNPs | δὲ om. NZ (Kayser)   19 ante ἦν add. ὁ Ἐφέσιος LrNPs

29. Νομοθέτῃ.

Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὔξουσιν.

30. Ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων.

Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρῶτον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄρχειν.

31. Διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας.

Τί ὄφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἐᾶν δὲ τὰς ῥίζας;

32. Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Λίθων ἐν πόλει ποικίλων καὶ γραφῶν καὶ περιπάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

33. Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων, οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως· προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

34. Τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ ἐν Λοκρίδι καὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν τε καὶ Μούσαις· "ἐβαρβαρώθην" οὐ "χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος," ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

35. Ἑστιαίῳ.

Ἀρετὴ καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἕτερον αὔξει τὸ ἕτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν ἀμ-

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1 Νομοθέταις F, deest inscriptio in Z 5 πρῶτον H[ac] ?Q -ην rell. 11 Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν] Τοῖς αὐτοῖς [sc., Ἐφεσίοις] LrPs Τῷ αὐτῷ (sic) [sc., Ἐφεσίοις] N Ἐφεσίων γραμματικοῖς L_1 12 ποικίλων καὶ γραφῶν LrNPsF καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων rell. 19 Τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς] Τοῖς ἐν Μούσαις Lr ?NPs Τοῖς ἐν

29. To a legislator:

Festivals cause diseases. For they lighten toil and promote gluttony.

30. To the Roman quaestors:

The first thing that you do is to hold office. If, then, you know how to hold office, why is it that during your term our cities are in worse condition than before? But if you do not know how to hold office, you should have first learned how and only then have held it.

31. To officials of Asia:

Of what use is it, when trees are growing wild and causing damage, to cut down the branches but let the roots remain?

32. To the *grammateis* of the Ephesians:

A city's variegated stone, its pictures, walkways, and theaters are of no benefit unless reason and law are found in it. Reason and law are superior to these objects, not these objects to reason and law.

33. To the Milesians:

Your children need fathers, your young men need elders, your women need men, your men need leaders, your leaders need laws, your laws need philosophers, your philosophers need gods, your gods need to be trusted. You are descendants of excellent ancestors, but you despise the present.

34. To the wise men in the Museum:

I was in Argos, Phocis, Locris, Sicyon and Megara; and though I used to give public lectures in the past, I put an end to this practice there. And suppose someone should ask me the reason? Well, I should like to explain it to you and the Muses: "I have become barbarous," not "by being away from Greece for a long time," but by being in Greece for a long time.

35. To Hestiaeus:

In my opinion virtue and wealth are entirely opposed to one another. For when one decreases it causes the other to increase, and when one increases it causes the other to decrease. So how could it

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Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς: Τοῖς ἐν Μούσαις, i.e., duae lectiones juxta positae Z 20 ἐν ante Λοκρίδι om. K (Kayser)

φότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή; μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἔα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλίπωσι, μηδὲ <δι'> ἀρετὴν ἀσπασαμένων.

36. Ἀπολλώνιος Κορινθίῳ Βάσσῳ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἦλθέ ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεὶς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἡ τῆς γυναικός σου κοινωνία. καί, μιαρὲ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

37. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις πῶς ὁ Βάσσου πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι "φαρμάκῳ." τίνος δόντος; ἐροῦσι καὶ οἱ ὅμοροι "τοῦ φιλοσόφου." καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἑπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.

38. Τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἓν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

39. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν· Κόδδαροι, Ξυρησίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξια.

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1 τῶν om. LrNPs 2 ἀρετή . . . ἀσπασαμένων om. LrNPsF | μὴ δὴ] μὴ δὲ RHOCQJPaPWPrX 4 <ὀλιγωρούντων αὐτὰ> ἐνίων Olearius | ἵνα] ἵνα μὴ VHOCQJPaPW ἵνα μὴ μόνον R 5 καταλείπωσιν TMz (cf. Kayser) | δι' addidi | ἀσπασαμένων] -μένην V^{ac}R -μένῳ V^{pc}HOCQJPaPW ἀσπασάμενοι Olearius 6 Ἀπολλώνιος habet solus F 9 δεδομένος] δευόμενος NPsNp^{m}T^{m} Mz^{m}Z δεδεμένος SNpT?MzVRL$_1$ διδόμενος U 12 ἐροῦσιν . . . ἀστικοὶ] ἐροῦσι πανταχόθεν NPsF 13 οἱ ante ἀστικοὶ habent NpTMz, om. rell. | δόντος]

be possible for a person to have both wealth and virtue, except in the opinion of the ignorant, who equate wealth with virtue? Do not allow men there to misunderstand me so completely or to take me for a wealthy man rather than a philosopher. For it is most shameful to appear to be traveling for the sake of money, if some men, in order to leave behind a memorial of themselves, have not even welcomed travel for the sake of virtue.

36. Apollonius to Bassus the Corinthian:

Praxiteles of Chalcis was a mad man. Once he came to my door sword in hand, sent by you, a philosopher and agonothete of the Isthmian Games. The reward offered him for my murder was permission to sleep with your wife. And to think of the numerous occasions, foul Bassus, when I acted as your benefactor!

37. To the same person:

If anyone should ask the Corinthians how Bassus's father died, the citizens and alien residents will all answer, "By poison." And if anyone should ask who administered it, even the people on the outskirts of the city will answer, "The philosopher." And yet that foul creature escorted his father's corpse and wept.

38. To the residents of Sardis:

You have no reward for virtue, for what virtue would you reward? But if it is wickedness for which you win first prize, then each and every one of you win it. Who will say this about the residents of Sardis? The residents of Sardis will. For no one there is a friend of anyone else, so no one will deny out of good will another's shameful acts.

39. To the same persons:

Even the names of your factions are disgraceful—Koddaroi, Xuresitauroi. These are the first names that you give to your children, and you consider yourselves fortunate that they are worthy of such names.

δ' ὄντος VRHOCQ διδόντος Z 16 Τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν] Τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκάδεσιν HOCQ Τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, superscripto Σάρδεσι V Σάρδεσι τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ R 21 Τοῖς αὐτοῖς] Σαρδιανοῖς F 22 Κόδαροι, superscripta alt. delta Z | Ξυρησίταυροι NPsZ Ξυρι- rell. 23 εὐτυχεῖτε] εὔχεσθε propos. Kayser, ed. min. | ἄξιοι NPsNpTMz Ald. KEZ[pc]

40. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι καὶ Ξυρησίταυροι. τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται καὶ θρασύτεραι.

41. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἶθ' ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

42. 'Απολλώνιος Πλατωνικοῖς.

'Εάν τις 'Απολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῷ καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἄξιος νομίζηται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται.

42a. 'Εφόροις.

'Ανδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι.

42b. 'Απολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ.

Βούλομαι παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνῆσαί σοι λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὥς τι ὀνήσαιμί σε, εἴ γε μὴ ἀπιστεῖς ὡς 'Ηρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ ῞Αιδου ἔλυσε. γράφε τί βούλει. ἔρρωσο.

42c. Μουσώνιος 'Απολλωνίῳ.

῏Ων μὲν διενοήθης, ἀποκείσεταί σοι ἔπαινος· ἀνὴρ δὲ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογίαν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτὸν λύει.

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2 Κόδαροι, superscripta alt. delta Z | Ξυρησίταυροι Z Ξυρι- rell. 7 ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι] οἱ πλεῖστοι ταγμάτων (δογμάτων Ps) NPsF 8 'Απολλώνιος habet solus F | 'Απολλώνιος Πλατωνικοῖς] Τοῖς Πλάτωνος νόμοις NPsZ 11 'Εφόροις] 'Απολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 4.27) 12 fort. delendum μή? | τὸ (iterum)] καὶ τὸ F καὶ τὸ vel τὸ καὶ Philostrati codd. 13 Λακεδαιμονίων . . . διορθοῦσθαι om. Philostrati codd. | καὶ τὸ] τὸ καὶ LrPs 14 'Απολλώνιος om. NpTMzK | post Μουσωνίῳ add. φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 4.46) 15 ὥς τι] ὥστε KHOCQ et Philostrati edd. Aldina

40. To the same persons:

Koddaroi and Xuresitauroi. And what will you call your daughters and wives? For they belong to the same factions and are even more insolent than you are.

41. To the same persons:

It is not reasonable to expect your slaves to be well-disposed towards you, first because they are slaves, and secondly because most of them belong to the opposing factions. For they, like you, have their ancestors.

42. Apollonius to the Platonic philosophers:

If someone offers money to Apollonius and the donor is considered by him to be worthy, he will accept the money if in need. But he will not accept money as a payment for philosophy even if he is in need.

42a. To the ephors:

It is the mark of real men not to err, of noble men at least to recognize their error, of Lacedaemonians also to correct their error.

42b. Apollonius to Musonius:

I wish to come to you and share conversation and lodgings with you in order to be of some benefit to you, if, that is, you do not disbelieve that Heracles once rescued Theseus from Hades. Write and tell me what your wish is. Farewell.

42c. Musonius to Apollonius:

You will have a store of praise for your good intentions. But a man who has patiently undertaken his self-defense and proved that he is not a wrongdoer rescues himself.

Morellianaque 18 post Ἀπολλωνίῳ add. φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 4.46) 19 Ὧν] Eἰ Vd | μὲν] μηδὲν LrPs | διενοήθης] ἐνενοήθης Philostrati codd. | ὁ ὑπομείνας Philostrati cod. π 20 λύει] om. Philostrati codd. π et f[ac] λύσει rell. Philostrati codd. | ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd.

42d. Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ.

Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουληθεὶς παρῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δέ.

42e. Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπολογίαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι.

42f. Ἀπολλώνιος Οὐεσπασιανῷ.

Ἐδουλώσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς φασι, καὶ πλέον μὲν οἴει τι ἔχειν Ξέρξου, λέληθας δὲ ἔλαττον ἔχων Νέρωνος. Νέρων γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸ παρῃτήσατο.

42g. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας ὡς δουλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος δέῃ;

42h. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Νέρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δ' αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω.

43. Τοῖς οἰη<σι>σόφοις.

Εἴ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ζῷα μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθὴς εἶναι φθόνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὀνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἤθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν, ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν.

44. Ἑστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

(1) Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσόθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρὶς ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὡς ὁρῶ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὥς εἰμι ἀμείνων πολλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἦθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν

1 Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ] Ἀπολλώνιος F Μουσωνίῳ K Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ αὐτῷ VR Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 4.46) 2 ὑπὸ] παρὰ Vd 3 τὸ om. LrPsFVdB et Philostrati codd. | ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 4 Ἀπολλωνίῳ] om. F τῷ αὐτῷ VR | post Ἀπολλωνίῳ add. φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 4.46) 5 ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπολογίαν] ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἑαυτόν Philostrati codd. 6 ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 7 Ἀπολλώνιος om. PsFTK | post Οὐεσπασιανῷ add. βασιλεῖ F, βασιλεῖ χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 5.41) 9 ad finem add.

42d. Apollonius to Musonius:

Socrates the Athenian, because he did not wish to be rescued by his friends, appeared in court and lost his life.

42e. Musonius to Apollonius:

Socrates lost his life because he had not prepared himself for his defense. But I shall defend myself.

42f. Apollonius to Vespasian:

You have enslaved Greece, as they say, and you think that you excel Xerxes, but you do not realize that you have fallen below Nero. For Nero could have excelled Xerxes but declined to do so.

42g. To the same person:

If you are at such variance with the Greeks as to make those free men slaves, what need do you have of my presence?

42h. To the same person:

Nero freed the Greeks, even though in sport; but you have enslaved them in earnest.

43. To those who fancy themselves wise:

If anyone asserts that he is my pupil, let him also assert that he remains inside, completely abstains from bathing, does not kill animals or eat their flesh, is free from envy, maliciousness, hatred, the urge to slander, and hostility, and is called a member of the class of free men. Otherwise, he must be shunned as one who feigns a disposition, character, and beliefs that are untrue, a pose suggesting that his way of life is different from what it actually is.

44. To Hestiaeus, his brother:

(1) Is it any wonder that up to now only my native city fails to acknowledge me, the city for whose sake especially I have striven to win renown, while the rest of mankind consider me equal to the gods and some even regard me as a god? No, it is not any wonder, for I see that it is not even clear to you, my brothers, that I am better than the majority of men both in my words and in my

ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 10 Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ αὐτῷ T 12 ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 15 ἐδουλώσω Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 5.41) ἐδούλωσας epistularum codd. | ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 16 οἴη <σι>-σόφοις Kayser 21 ad finem add. ἔρρωσθε NpTMz 22 τῷ ἀδελφῷ] τῷ (om. R) ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ VR 26 εἰμι Lr (Kayser, ed. min., per conj.) εἴην rell.

μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν <ὡς> ὑπομνήσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν δεομένου περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ἄν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. (2) καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ἡμᾶς ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους, ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μιᾶς δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὔσης † λόγῳ τε παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι † παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπῃ γε καὶ ὅπως ἄν τις τύχῃ γενόμενος, εἴτε δὴ βάρβαρος εἴτε καὶ Ἕλλην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασόφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς διδομένην Ἰθάκης προὐτίμησεν. (3) ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πεφοιτηκότα. οὐ γὰρ ὁπόσον πτηνὸν καλιῶν ἀπόκοιτον ἰδίων, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν. θηρία μὲν γὰρ οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἔξω φωλεῶν μεῖναι. ἕνα δὲ τούτων ἡ φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ταῦτα σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ᾧ κἂν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ πᾶσα παρέχῃ, μνήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

45. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αἰτίαν ἀγεννῆ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ δήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἴη πρόφασιν ἑτέραν ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων ἀλαζὼν δοκεῖν, ψευδῆ δὲ ταπεινός, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἐπίσης ἀνιαρὸν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλῳ παντί. νυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ φίλοις μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λήγοντος ἔαρος.

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1 <ὡς> Kayser, ed. min. 2 δεομένου propos. Kayser -ων codd. 3 ante πατρίδος add. περὶ SL_1^m | ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς PrX 5 γένος] γ' ἑνὸς OC 6 λόγου Kayser, ed. min. λόγων HOC | post πᾶσι add. καὶ Kayser, ed. min. textum obelis notavi. 7 δὴ om. Kayser per errorem 14 ἕνα δὲ scripsi (fort. ἕνα δὴ?) ἕνα Kayser τίνα δὲ Lr τινα rell., puncto non post μεῖναι, sed post τούτων

character. For if it were clear to you, how could you make such a harsh charge against me, as if I need to be reminded at all of the only matters about which not even the most ignorant man could endure being lectured—I mean one's native city and brothers. (2) And yet, you may object, the doctrine that it is good to regard the whole earth as one's native land and all men as one's brothers and friends has not escaped my notice. For all men, so I believe, belong to the family of God and are of one nature; everyone experiences the same emotions, regardless of the place or condition of a person's birth, whether he is a barbarian or a Greek, so long as he is a human being. But bloodties cannot be weakened by any theoretical argument, and kin attracts kin to itself. Thus, Homer's Odysseus, as they say, did not even prefer the immortality which a goddess offered him to Ithaca. (3) And I observe that this law is in effect even among irrational animals. For no winged creature sleeps outside of its own nest; and every creature of the deep may be dragged off by his assailant, but returns if not overcome. Neither feast nor famine can persuade animals to stay away from their dens. A man, even if he is called wise, is still one of the creatures that nature has brought forth. The earth as a whole may provide everything else for him, but it cannot show him the tombs of his ancestors.

45. To the same person:

If philosophy is the most prized of all things and I am believed to be a philosopher, then I could not rightly be suspected of hating my brothers, especially not for a base and selfish reason. For it is money that is at the root of this suspicion about me. But I tried to despise money even before I took up philosophy. So it would make more sense to think of another reason for my failing to write to you. I have tried to avoid giving the impression, by writing the truth, of being boastful or, by writing lies, of being overly humble; for both courses of action are equally annoying to brothers and to all of one's friends. But now I want to make it clear—and perhaps heaven will concur with my plans—that I shall return to you shortly after meeting with my friends in Rhodes, at the end of spring.

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posito 16 μὲν om. Lr, del. Kayser 17 Τῷ αὐτῷ] 'Αδελφῷ NpTMz 'Εστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Lr 'Απολλώνιος ἀδελφῷ Ald. EHOCQL_1Z 'Απολλώνιος τοῖς (τοῖς om. X) ἀδελφοῖς PrX 18 φιλοσοφεῖν . . . μισ- om. LrNPs, delenda indicat Z 20 γὰρ om. LrNPs 24 φίλῳ παντί. νυνὶ μέντοι] φίλοις ἂν εἴη νῦν· εἰ μέντοι NPs Z[pc] pro φίλῳ παντί accipit ex N φίλοις ἂν εἴη Kayser, ed. min.

46. Γορδίῳ.

Ἠδικῆσθαί φασιν Ἑστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα φίλου γεγονότος, εἴ γε σύ τινος φίλος. ὅρα δή, Γόρδιε, μὴ πεῖραν λάβῃς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην, ὃν εὔχομαι μὴ παραπλήσιόν σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ δ' ἦς νέος ἄμεμπτος.

47. Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἕνα πόλει πρεπωδέστερον <ἂν> εἴη, εἰ ἕνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς. καὶ ὃν ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀποδεδήμηκα περιποιῶν ὑμῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὔκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς.

48. Διοτίμῳ.

(1) Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαί μέ τινος ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἴς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων πολύ τι. χαριεῖ δή μοι παθὼν εὖ δίχ' ἀναλώματος, τηρήσει γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς ἅπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας—ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους—ἔξεστι μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὖ παθόντων μέν, ὁσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων μηδεμίαν. (2) μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνῃς, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκεν εὐθὺς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσίᾳ τῷ φίλῳ σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἠπίστατο τῶν καταλελειμμένων σου παίδων.

Εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου δοκοῦντος καθ' ὁτιοῦν ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλά-

5 ἦς] ἦσθα NZ^pc (Kayser) 6 Τυανέων . . . δήμῳ] Τυανέων ἄρχουσι (-σιν Lr) LrL₂M Τυανέοις NPs 7 Προστάττουσιν om. LrNPsL₂M | ante πόλει add. τῇ LrNPsL₂M, fort. recte 8 <ἂν> Kayser, ed. min. | εἴη om. LrNPsL₂M | εἰ] ὅταν LrNPsL₂M | μεταπέμποιντο LrL₂M 9 ἀποδεδήμηκα] ἀπεδήμησα NPs (Kayser) 10 καὶ ὄνομα om. LrNPsL₂M | καὶ εὔνοιαν om. omnes praeter LrNPsL₂M 13 ad finem add. ἔρρωσθε NpTMz 17 οὐδὲ om. Lr | πολύ τι. χαριεῖ δή μοι παθὼν εὖ Kayser, ed. min. πολύ τι χάριν δή μοι παθὼν οὐ codd. πολύν τε χάριν εἰμὶ ποιῶν καὶ Olearius 18 τηρήσω Olearius fort. τηρήσεις?

46. To Gordius:

They say that Hestiaeus has been wronged by you, though you are his friend—if you really are anyone's friend. See to it, Gordius, that you do not get experience of a person who does not merely give the impression of being a man, but really is one. Give my regards to your son Aristoclides, who I pray may not become like you. For you, too, were once a blameless young man.

47. To the assembly and people of Tyana:

I am obeying your command to return home. Of course, summoning a citizen to honor him would be a more proper action for a city to take towards an individual. During all the time I traveled, I have traveled to win you fame and glory—though it may be in bad taste to say this—to win you the goodwill and friendship of outstanding cities and men. And if you deserved an even greater and higher reputation, only my personality and natural disposition would have sufficient strength and zeal to achieve this for you.

48. To Diotimus:

(1) You were wrong in thinking that I require anything either from you, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from anyone else in a similar situation. The amount spent to assist you was not very large. You will please me if you accept my kindness without spending any money, for this is the only way you will safeguard my principles. This is how I act and am disposed towards all my fellow citizens—not to mention all men in general—and you can learn of this from all the other citizens who were treated well by me as often as they were in need of something, but were never asked for anything in return. (2) Do not be annoyed that my slave, who was reprimanded as he deserved to be for accepting something in the first place, immediately gave back what he had accepted to Lysias, your friend and mine, since he did not know any of the slaves whom you left behind.

And if two different accounts of me are circulating and continue to circulate in the future, is there anything surprising in that? For conflicting stories are inevitably told about anyone who seems to have achieved eminence in any respect. Thus, in the cases of Pytha-

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23 post ἐμὸς add. οἰκέτης Kayser, ed. min. 24 ἐμοῦ NpTMz ἐμῷ rell.
28 οὕτω LrS οὕτω, -ς supra -ω scripto Np

τωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε <μὴ> τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· (3) ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντές τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνῆσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρός, οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον. ὑγιαίνειν σε εὔχομαι.

49. Φερωκιανῷ.

Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἥσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναί σοι θεάσασθαί με καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθῆναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ ταύτῃ που καὶ θεοῦ παραινοῦντος· ὅθεν ἔχου τῶν αὐτόθι. συμμίξεις δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ προσήκει σοι τὸ τοιοῦτον.

50. Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ἐκεῖνον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἴη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ "ἥμβροτες οὐδ' ἔτυχες," μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅρκων συγχύσει.

51. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτοπον εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πεπιστευκότος εἶναί σε φιλόσοφον.

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2 <μὴ> Hamaker 7 σε om. Kayser per errorem 9 Φερωκιανῷ Cichorius apud Norden Φερουσιανῷ Z Φουρκιανῷ L_1 Φερουκιανῷ rell. 10 Πάνυ . . . ἥσθην] Ἥσθην καὶ πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασι $LrNPsL_2M$ 13 καὶ ταύτῃ . . . παραινοῦντος om. omnes praeter LrL_2M 15 τὸ τοιοῦτον $NPsL_2MZ$ τὸ τὸοῦτο Lr? τοῦτο PrX (Kayser) τὸ τοιοῦτο rell. 17 καὶ om. omnes praeter LrNPs | δ' ἔτι] δὲ τί LrNPsZ 19 ἐκεῖνον] κἀκεῖνον PrX (Kayser) | διετέ-

goras, Orpheus, Plato and Socrates contradictory things were both said and written—not surprisingly, seeing that inconsistent things are said and written about God Himself. (3) But good men choose to believe the truth about a person, as if they have some natural affinity to it; whereas, the ignoble do the opposite. As for this latter class of men, I mean the inferior class, we can laugh at them with scorn. For the present it is proper to mention only this much about myself, that the gods have often spoken of me as of a godly man, not only privately to specific individuals, but publicly as well. It would be in bad taste to say anything more or to speak more highly of oneself. I hope you are in good health.

49. To Ferocianus:

I thoroughly enjoyed the letter that you sent me. It had a very amiable tone and showed how much you remember about my family. I am convinced of your eagerness for us to see each other. Therefore, I shall come to visit you as soon as possible—and I believe that in this matter it is God who is exhorting me—so stay where you are. Once I arrive, you will have some time with me before the rest of my relatives and friends, for you deserve it.

50. To Euphrates:

The most wise Pythagoras, too, belonged to the class of *daimones*. But you still seem to me to be far removed from philosophy and true knowledge, otherwise you would not revile that famous philosopher, nor would you continue to despise certain of his followers. From now on you should behave differently. For you have failed in philosophy and have not come any closer to hitting the target than Pandarus did in aiming at Menelaus in the "Breaking of the Oaths."

51. To the same person:

Some criticize you for having accepted money from the emperor. There would be nothing reprehensible in this, if you did not appear to have taken the money as a payment for your philosophy—so often and so much money and from one who is convinced that you are a philosopher.

λεις μισῶν LrNPs μισῶν διετέλεις rell. 20 νῦν om. LrNPs 21 ante μᾶλλον add. οὐ NPsZ^{sl} (Kayser, ed. min.) 24 καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον] καὶ παρὰ τοσούτων PrX 25 παρὰ τοῦ πεπιστευκότες (-ότος A^{pc}?) SA^{ac}?L_1 περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότες PrX περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων Kayser

52. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὁπόσα φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε· νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἁρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικήν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικήν, τὰ δὲ καλλίω μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν, γνῶσιν θεῶν οὐ δόξαν, εἴδησιν δαιμόνων οὐχὶ πίστιν, φιλίαν ἑκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν εὐκινησίαν εὔπνοιαν εὔχροιαν ὑγείαν εὐψυχίαν ἀθανασίαν. παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφρᾶτα, τί λαβόντες ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰδόντες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἣν ἔχεις;

53. Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὔνοιαν ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν γενέσθαι.

54. Ἀπολλώνιος διοικηταῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ [τῶν] περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς, ἢ καλὸν ἂν ἦν τὸ ἄρχεσθαι.

55. Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

(1) Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἕκαστον ἀπιέναι καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆράς ἐστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει. μὴ δή σε λυπείτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται, κρεῖττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολάμβανε, χεῖρον ὂν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ' ἐξαίρετον Πυθαγορείου καὶ Ἀπολ-

2 ἀνδρὶ] ἀνδρία LrPs ἀνδρεία N ἀνδρί, -δρεία superscripto Z | αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς N αὐτοῦ, -τῆς superscripto Z 4 δὲ om. LrNPsZ^pr 7 εὐκινησίαν . . . ἀθανασίαν om. LrNPs 8 Εὐφρᾶτα om. omnes praeter LrNPs, in Z additur supra lin. 9 οἱ ἰδόντες] ἰδόντες LrNPs οἱ δόντες propos. Kayser οἱ συνόντες Kayser, ed. min. (cf. epistulae initium, Ἐάν τις . . . συγγένηται) 10 post βουλῇ add. καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Np 12 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν Z 15 ad finem add. ἔρρωσθε NpTMz 16 Ἀπολλώνιος om. LrNPs | διοικηταῖς LrNPsSZ^m δικαιωταῖς (δικαιοταῖς HQ) rell. 17 τῶν delevi una cum K 19 ἢ καλὸν . . . ἄρχεσθαι om. LrNPs, delenda indicat Z | ἦν] εἴη NpTMz (Kayser, signo interrogationis ad sententiae finem

52. To the same person:

I would like to tell you what great benefits a man will receive if he keeps company with a Pythagorean: knowledge about making laws, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, harmonics, music, medicine, and all forms of godly divination. Then there are the more noble benefits: highmindedness, magnanimity, nobility, tranquillity, piety, true understanding of rather than mere opinion about the gods, knowledge about *daimones* rather than mere belief in them, friendship with both gods and *daimones*, self-sufficiency, zeal, frugality, limitation of one's needs, keenness of perception, agility, easiness of breathing, a good complexion, health, fortitude, and immortality. And what have those who have beheld you received from you, Euphrates? Obviously nothing but the virtue that is yours.

53. Claudius to the senate of the Tyaneans:

Your citizen Apollonius, the Pythagorean philosopher, has made an excellent journey through Greece and has been of service to our young men. Having bestowed deserved honors on him, honors which befit men who are good and truly eminent in philosophy, we want our goodwill to be made known to you through this letter.

54. Apollonius to the Roman officials:

Some of you take care of harbors, buildings, walls, and walkways. But, as for the children in the cities or the young people or the women, neither you nor the laws give them any thought. If things were otherwise, it would be good to be governed by you.

55. Apollonius to his brother:

(1) It is natural for anything which has reached maturity to pass away; and for every creature this is the process of old age, after which it no longer remains in existence. So do not let the loss of your wife in her prime distress you; and although there is something called death, do not consider life to be superior to it, when in fact life is in every respect worse than death in the judgment of sensible men. Prove to be the brother of one who is commonly known as a philosopher—a Pythagorean named Apollonius, to be more exact—

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posito) 20 Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ ἀδελφῷ] Τῷ ἀδελφῷ PaPW Τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλωνίου E Τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλωνίῳ VR Τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ rell. (sed J legere non potui) correxit Ἀπολλωνίῳ in Ἀπολλώνιος Olearius. verba transposui. 21 ἀπιέναι Kayser ἀπεῖναι codd.

λωνίου, καί σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ποίησον. (2) εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλοῦμέν τι τῇ προτέρᾳ, κἂν εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδειλιᾶν· εἰ δ' ἡμῖν σεμνή τε διετέλεσεν οὖσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοηθέντες οὐκ ἂν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίημεν; ἣν εἰκὸς ἂν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ ἀμείνονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελείᾳ κακωθείσης.

Δυσωπείτω δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ γάμος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ ἐλπὶς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δέ γε τοῦ χρόνου· καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἷς. (3) ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός—ἄλλως δέ, καθ' ὃ πατήρ, χείρους—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς ἂν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παραθησόμεθα γοῦν ὀνόματα, ὡς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι συνύφηναν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην πλείονα γράψαι καὶ οὐδὲ εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

56. Σαρδιανοῖς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν Ἅλυν διαβάς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμμένον, αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος· ἔζησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὕστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμίῳ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὔνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἀνίερα καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς γυναῖκας, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἐχθροὶ γεγόνατε μήτε τὸν Ἅλυν διαβάντες μήτε δεξάμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν. καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

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2 ἡμῖν] ἡ μὲν Kayser, ed. min. 8 γὰρ οὐδὲ γάμος] γὰρ <σοὶ> οὐδὲ γόνος Kayser, ed. min. 18 πυρὰν N (Kayser) πῦρ rell. 22 ἄθεα τὰ] ἀθέατα PsVd ἄθεα N 23 πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς πρὸς γυναῖκας NPs πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας Vd

and restore your household to its former condition. (2) For if we found anything to criticize in your former wife, we would understandably seem wary of the future. But since we see that she was honorable to the end and loved her husband and thus is worthy of being mourned, why should we not expect the same thing of a future wife as well? It is likely that a future wife would even wish to be better, since your former wife was never wronged by neglect on your part.

Also, our condition up to now as brothers should cause you some distress. For the oldest of us is not even married yet; and though there is still hope that the youngest will have children, that will not happen for quite some time. We are three brothers begotten of one father, but we have not fathered a single child among us. (3) There is equal danger in this both for our native city and for posterity. For if we are superior to our father (though, in another sense, we are inferior inasmuch as he was our father), how could our children fail to be even better? Therefore, let there be some children to whom we shall hand down our names at least, just as our ancestors fashioned them for us. I cannot write any more because of my tears, and I do not have anything more urgent than this to write.

56. To the Sardians:

Croesus lost the Lydian empire upon crossing the Halys. He was captured alive, bound in chains, set on a pyre, and saw the fire being lit and soaring high. But he lived, for he seemed to be a man honored by the god. And what happened next? This famous ancestor and king of yours, who undeservedly suffered so much, shared his table with his enemy and became his benevolent counselor and trusted friend. But your war against parents, children, brothers, wives, friends, relatives, and fellow tribesmen is without truce or treaty; it is relentless and—what is worse—unholy and godless. You are at war, though you have neither crossed the Halys nor withstood the attack of a foreign invader. And yet the earth bears fruit for you. The earth is unjust.

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om. rell. 24 τὸν om. NPs (Kayser, ed. min.) 25 καὶ ἡ] καὶ εἰ ἡ Vd

57. Συγγραφεῦσι λογίοις.

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο. πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος· καὶ ᾧ γίγνεται, καίεται γοῦν. φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὄψεσι μόνον αὐγὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πεῖθον. τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐστιν· ὃ κρεῖττον ὄν, εἰ μὴ μεῖζον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

58. Οὐαλερίῳ.

(1) Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπὲν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταὐτὰ θάνατος, οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειάν τινος, οὔτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὕστερον τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὔσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. (2) τοῦτο γάρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκῃ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γινομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἑνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεταί τις· τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὁρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀόρατον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις; φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς ἔθος ἑκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὃ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπίαν, ἀόρατον δέ ἐστιν, εἰ κενωθείη, διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὕλης, βίᾳ περιχυθείσης ἐκρυείσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

(3) Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἴονται γάρ τινες ὃ πεπόνθασιν αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυὲν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἓν ἑκάστου. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς

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1 Συγγραφεῦσι om. NPs | post Συγγραφεῦσι add. καὶ VR | post λογίοις add. ὑγιαίνειν Ps
3 γίνεται NPs Ald. KVR
26 ἓν Olearius ἑνὸς codd.

57. To accomplished writers:

Light is the presence of fire, for there could be no light without fire. Fire is that which actually happens to a thing; and a thing that is on fire, of course, burns. But light offers the eyes only its own radiance; it does not use force on them but persuades them. Now as for written discourse, one kind is like fire and something that happens to the reader, and another kind is like radiance and light. The latter is better, and—unless the prayer that I shall utter asks for too much—I hope that it be my style of discourse.

58. To Valerius:

(1) There is no death of anything except in appearance only, just as there is no birth of anything except in appearance only. For the passage of something from the realm of pure substance into that of nature appears to be birth, and likewise the passage of something from the realm of nature into that of pure substance appears to be death. But nothing ever really comes into existence or is dissolved; rather, a thing is merely visible and subsequently invisible, visible due to its material density, invisible due to the tenuity of its substance. Substance always remains the same, changing only in regard to its state of motion or rest. (2) This, I suppose, inevitably characterizes change that does not occur from without, but rather by a conversion of the whole into its parts or of the parts into the whole, a conversion made possible by the unity of the All. But suppose someone asks, What is this that is now visible, now invisible? Does its existence rest upon enduring principles or upon changing ones? One would reply that it is characteristic of every class of thing on earth to become visible when compacted, because of the resistance caused by density, and to become invisible if rarefied, because of the resulting tenuity of its matter—matter that has been forcibly diffused and has flowed away from the eternal measure that contained it, though the measure itself is not subject to generation or dissolution.

(3) How does error remain unrefuted for so long? For some people think that they themselves have caused what they have experienced, since they do not know that a child is brought into existence not by its parents, but by means of its parents, just as a plant that has sprung up *through* the earth does not grow *because of* the earth; nor do they know that what visible entities experience is not imputable to them, but rather what the individual experiences is imputable to the One. And what could we rightly call the One except

ἂν ὀνομάσειεν; ἣ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πᾶσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἀίδιος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον, <τοῦτο δὲ μεῖζον>.

(4) Τότε δὲ κλαίεταί τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφεὶς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἧ πρότερον ἦρχες. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ μὴ λογισμῷ γένοιο βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσεν. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἱκανὴ καὶ περὶ μεγίστων. ἄρχων ἄριστος, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ. (5) ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἔστι δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται τὰ ἀγαθά—πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον—ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς αἰτίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον. οἷον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. (6) ἄμειψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, ἐὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιον <ἢ> ἐὰν μὴ προέλθῃς. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα; φήσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὂν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὄν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός. ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν γίνεται; πῶς δ' ἂν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἕτερός τις ὡς ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἀσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κἀκεῖνον ἀσεβεῖς. βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἷόν ἐστι θάνατος; ἄνελέ με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν ἐὰν μὴ μεταμφιέσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

(7) Ἔχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα φίλανδρον, ὁλόκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λεῖπον. Ῥωμαῖός τις τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα

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3 τοῦτο δὲ μεῖζον addidi 4 Τότε δὲ] Τὸ δὲ NpTMz τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ <μεῖζον> κλαίεταί κτλ. conj. Kayser, ed. min. | τόπου] τρόπου Olearius 9 περὶ habent omnes codd., pace Kayser 10 ὃς ἂν S ὃς ἐὰν rell. 12 βουλήσεται <ἀπεύχεσθαι> Kayser, ed. min. 14 θεράπευσαι, δίκασον S Ald. KEL_1Z θεράπευσαι δίκας rell., fort. recte | αἰτίους] ἀθλίους Kayser, ed. min. 15 ἀποτρέψεις] fort. ἀποτρέψει vel οὕτω σ' ἀποτρέψεις? ἀποστρέψεις Z 18 <ἢ> Spengel 21 εἴποι Kayser, ed. min. εἶπεν codd.

the first substance? This first substance alone both acts and is acted upon, being all things unto all and through all, eternal God, deprived and robbed of its specific character, to a greater or lesser extent, by the various names and forms that it assumes.

(4) People weep on those occasions when, by a spatial and not an essential change, a man becomes a god. Actually, you should not lament death, but should revere and honor it. The best and most fitting honor you can bestow upon a dead man is to surrender him to God—for that is the source of his existence—and to continue now to govern the men in your charge as you did before. It would be shameful if you improve merely with the passing of time and not by reasoning, for time brings an end even to the sorrow of the wicked. A high office is a very important thing and concerns itself with important matters, and the best official is the one who first learns how to govern himself. (5) Also, how could it be right to wish away that which has happened by God's will? If there is an order in the universe—and there is—and if God supervises this order, the just man will not desire fortune's goods, for that would be selfish and contrary to the order of things, but rather he will regard what happens as being for the best.

Come forth now and cure yourself, judge and advise the accused, and in this way you will desist from your tears. We must prefer the common good to our private affairs, not our private affairs to the common good. And look at the kind of consolation that you have: You have mourned your son in the company of the whole province. (6) Reward those who have grieved with you; and you will reward them sooner by putting an end to your grief than by refusing to come forth. You do not have any friends? Well, you have a son. What, the one who just died? An intelligent man will answer in the affirmative. For that which exists does not perish, for it is said to exist precisely because it will be forever. Or does something that does not exist come into being? How could it come into being if what exists does not perish? And someone else might say that you commit a dishonor and an injustice. You dishonor God and commit an injustice against your son, or rather you dishonor him, too. Do you want to know what death is? Then summon and kill me after I finish what I am saying; and if you cannot give my words a new body, you have forthwith made me better than yourself.

(7) You are not too old, you have a prudent and loving wife, you are in good health, so restore your loss from your own means. One

σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, υἱὸν ἴδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε. πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων Ῥωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθῃς, ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεών τε καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῆν, Φαβοῦλλαν ἂν μὴ πενθεῖν ἔπεισεν.

59. Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος Νεογύνδῃ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος οὐδ' ἂν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γάρ σοι γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθιεὶς καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ <ἂν> λαθεῖν δύναιο.

60. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ὤφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου. τίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία; "οὐ γὰρ πώποτε σὰς βοῦς ἤλασα,"

"ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα"

τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

61. Λεσβώνακτι.

Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός· εἰ δὲ Σκύθης, ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

62. Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

Τᾶν δεδομενᾶν τιμᾶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τᾷ δημοσίᾳ σφραγῖδι ἵνα ἴδῃς·

Ψήφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω

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4 Φαβοῦλλαν Kayser Φαβοῦλαν J Φαβούλ(λ)αν rell. 9 δῆμος Olearius δήμιος codd. 11 οὔτε] οὐ K οὐδὲ Hercher | <ἂν> Kayser, ed. min. 13 Ἀπολλώνιος om. LrNPsKZ 15 ταῖς ἐμαῖς om. LrNPs 17 μάλα om. LrNPs 22 Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ] Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφόροις Lr 23 Τᾶν δεδομενᾶν τιμᾶν Cobet (*Mnemosyne* 8 [1859] 80) et Kayser, ed. min.; accentus graves acutique in codd. | δεδομενᾶν] δεομέναν Lr? δεδομέναν in δεδογμέναν factum,

of the ancient Romans slew his own son to preserve the law and dignity of the state, and slew him after having just placed a crown on his head. You govern five-hundred cities and are the noblest of the Romans. But with your disposition a person will not even stably manage his own household, let alone cities and provinces. If Apollonius were there, he would have persuaded Fabulla not to mourn.

59. Garmus, king of the Babylonians, to Neogyndes, king of the Indians:

If you were not meddlesome, you would not be playing the role of the just man in others' affairs nor would you, as ruler of India, pass judgment on the Babylonians. For how could you know anything about our country? Now you have made an attempt upon my empire. All the while you were flattering me in your letters and were employing such high officials and hiding your greed behind the mask of altruism. But you will not succeed, for you cannot conceal the truth about yourself.

60. Apollonius to Euphrates:

Praxiteles of Chalcis was a mad man. He was seen once in Corinth at my door, sword in hand, and accompanied by a friend of yours. What was the reason for this plot against me? "For never have I driven off your cattle," "since there are very many shady mountains and a resounding sea" between my philosophy and yours.

61. To Lesbonax:

Anacharsis the Scythian was a sage. And if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian that he was a sage.

62. The Lacedaemonians to Apollonius:

We have stamped the following copy of the decree by which you were granted honors with the public seal and have sent it to you so that you may see it:

A decree of the Lacedaemonians, in accordance with the decision of the elders upon introduction of the proposal by Tyndares: It was

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superscripta gamma L_1 | σοι] τοι Cobet | ἀπεστάλκαμες Cobet | σαμανάμενοι τᾷ] in codd. magna inter α et η in σαμα- et τᾷ vacillatio | σαμανάμενοι] σαμειωσάμενοι (σημ- E) LrE 24 δαμοσίᾳ Olearius | εἰδῆς Cobet 25 post Τυνδάρεω add. γνώμαν Lr

εἰσηγησαμένω· ταῖν ἀρχαῖν ἔδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθαγόρειον ἦμεν πολίταν ἔχειν τε καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἴκων ἔγκτασιν. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα γραπτὰν καὶ χαλκᾶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὧδε γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἁμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἦμεν Λυκούργω παῖδας ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς τὸν βίον αἱρέοντο.

63. Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Ἄνδρας ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας, τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκούς, μαλακὰς χλανίδας ἠμφιεσμένους <καὶ> λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περιχειμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

64. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Λυκοῦργον αἰδεῖσθε.

65. Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος.

Ἔθος ὑμῖν ἅπαν ἁγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἑστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ <οἱ> σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ λῃστὴς καὶ ἀνδραποδιστὴς καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἦν ὁρμώμενος αὐτόθεν· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποστερούντων τεῖχός ἐστιν.

66. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς [γελοῖον ὄνομα], παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον, ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δεήσει μοι, καίπερ ἔνδον ἀεὶ μένοντι.

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2 ἔχεν Cobet | γᾶς Cobet et Kayser, ed. min. γάνος codd. | οἴκων] οἰκίας Cobet, ut plerumque in titulis | ἔγκτασιν Cobet et Kayser, ed. min. ἔκτασιν codd. | ἐστάκαμεν Kayser, ed. min. ἡστάκαμεν codd. ἑστάκαμες Cobet 3 ἀρετᾶς Cobet | post γὰρ add. καὶ LrNpTMz 6 Ἀπολλώνιος . . . Λακεδαιμονίοις] Λακεδαίμονος ἐφόροις LrNPs 8 <καὶ> Kayser, ed. min. | λεπτάς] βαπτάς LrNPsZpc 9 ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν] ὑποδήματα Ἰωνικά Cobet 12 Τοῖς αὐτοῖς] Τοῖς Λακεδαίμονος ἐφόροις Lr Τοῖς αὐτοῖς [sc., Λακεδαίμονος ἐφόροις]

resolved by the two authorities, the officials and the people, that Apollonius the Pythagorean is a citizen and has the right to own land and houses. In honor of his moral excellence we have also set up a representation of him on bronze, painted and with an inscription. For thus did our fathers honor good men. All who chose a life in harmony with the gods they considered to be sons of Lycurgus.

63. Apollonius to the ephors and Lacedaemonians:

I observed that your men do not wear beards; that their legs and thighs are smoothly shaven and white; that they are clothed in soft, fine garments; that they wear many beautiful rings; and that they are shod in the Ionian fashion. So I did not recognize these so-called envoys of yours, though the letter said that they were Lacedaemonians.

64. To the same persons:

You often call upon me to assist you with your laws and your young men. But Solon's city does not call upon me. Revere Lycurgus.

65. To the Ephesians in the Temple of Artemis:

You observe all religious rituals, you observe the imperial cult. But though you are not blameworthy feasters and banqueters, those who dwell in the goddess's Temple both by night and day are blameworthy. Otherwise, thieves, pirates, kidnapers, and every criminal and sacrilegious person would not be issuing forth from the Temple. Why, the Temple is a walled shelter for robbers.

66. To the same persons:

A man has come from Greece, not an Athenian or a Megarian, but a Greek by nature, and he wants to dwell in the presence of your goddess. Give me a place where I shall not have to be cleansed, though I always remain inside.

NPs 15 Ἐφεσίων . . . Ἀρτέμιδος] Διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας Lr deest inscriptio in NPs. | Ἀρτέμιδος Olearius -ιδι codd. 16 ἀλλ'] τἄλλ' Kayser, ed. min. 17 <οἱ> Wilamowitz 19 καὶ ante πᾶς om. omnes praeter Ald. K | ἱερόσυλος NpTMz Ald. KV^{pc}RL$_1$ ἱερός rell. | post γὰρ add. ἱερὸν Kayser, ed. min. | τῶν om. LrNPsE 20 τεῖχός Olearius τύχης codd. μυχός Kayser, ed. min. 21 Τοῖς αὐτοῖς] Ἐφεσίοις LrNPs 23 [γελοῖον ὄνομα] Jessen Ἀπολλωνίου ὄνομα Olearius γε, λῷον δ' ὄνομα Kayser, ed. min.

67. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἀνεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερὸν εὐχομένοις ὑμνοῦσιν ἱκέταις Ἕλλησι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις. ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα τὰ <τῆς> Διός τε καὶ Λητοῦς, ἐὰν ᾖ μόνα ταῦτα.

68. Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισε, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπασχον μὲν ἃ ἠτύχουν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις ὧν καὶ οἱ ἑτέρωθεν δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα προ .... † ἡμεῖς Ἑλλήνων δύο † δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήναντα [καὶ] πολλάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γινομένους τοὺς σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. ὢ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας. καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

69. Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ. τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τό τε πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἑκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος ἢ τοὐναντίον. εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρῖναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιούς, οὐκ Ἴωνας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κροτων<ιάτ>ας Ταραντίνους, ἤ τινας ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἑτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὢν γένος ὑμέτερον; ἄλλοτέ ποτ' ἂν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον <τῶν> παρ' οἷς γεγένηνται.

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1 Τοῖς αὐτοῖς] Ἐφεσίοις Lr 2 ἱκέταις] οἰκέταις LrZ 4 τὰ <τῆς> scripsi (cf. Kayser in app. crit., Wilamowitz) 10 καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα sunt ultima epistulae verba in E, post quae incipit alia epistula, inscriptione Ἑλλήνων δύο δημοσίᾳ, verbis Τὸ πάθημα φήναντα κτλ. | προ om. S Ald. KE | post προ lacunam indicant (6-24 litterarum spatii) omnes praeter Lr | om. ἡμεῖς SE | πρό<κριτον> ὑμεῖς Ἑλλήνων [δύο] conj. Kayser, ed. min. | obelis textum notavi.

67. To the same persons:

The Temple is open to men who wish to sacrifice, pray, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Greeks and barbarians, to free men and slaves. This custom is exceedingly godly. I recognize the signs of the daughter of Zeus and Leto, if these are the only signs.

68. To the Milesians:

An earthquake has shaken your land, something that has frequently happened to the land of many others. But the misfortune that others suffered was unavoidable, and it was apparent that they pitied rather than hated one another. Only you have hurled weapons and fire even at the gods, the very gods whom people elsewhere need both before and after danger. And after the god had shaken your land, you said day after day that a philosopher ...... caused the disaster because he had often revealed it publicly and predicted that the quakes would occur. What an ignorant populace! Yet Thales is said to be your ancestor.

69. To the Trallians:

Many men, both young and old, come to me from many parts of the world for various reasons. Thus I can observe with utmost exactness the nature and character of each individual and whether or not he is correctly disposed towards his native city. I would say that up to this day I have not found anyone to be better than you Trallians, not the Lydians or the Achaeans or the Ionians, not even the Thurians, Crotoniates, or Tarentines of old or any of the other blessed Italiotes, as they are called, who lived in that region, nor anyone else. Then why is it that I approve of you but do not live among such excellent men, though I am of your race? Perhaps I shall tell you on some other occasion. For the present it is opportune simply to praise you and your leaders, leaders who surpass those of other cities morally and intellectually—far more than they surpass their own fellow citizens.

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11 καὶ delevi una cum Ald. K | γινομένους Lr γεν- rell. 13 Θαλῆς $K^{pc}L^{m}_{1}$ Θαλλῆς rell. 14 Τραλλιανοῖς] Τραλίας στρατηγοῖς Lr 18 εἰς <δὲ> propos. Kayser τήνδε <δὲ> Westermann apud Hercher | ἡμέραν] ἡμετέραν NpTMz Ald. EL_1 ὑμετέραν K ἡμέραν rell. et Olearius per conj. 20 Κροτων <ιάτ> -ας Kayser 25 <τῶν> Kayser, ed. min.

70. Σαΐταις.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοί ἐστε, καθάπερ ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων φησίν· οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸν ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηἲθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἕλληνες. ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω· γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ γένυς πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπὸς καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἡ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει.

71. Ἴωσιν.

Ἕλληνες οἴεσθε δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἕλλησι δὲ ὥσπερ ἔθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλῶττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοιντ' ἂν ἅτε ἀγνῶτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε πρότερον ἡρώων ἦν ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκόλλων τε καὶ Φαυρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

72. Ἑστιαίῳ.

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρὶς τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθέλεις ὀνομάζεσθαι Λουκρήτιος ἢ Λούπερκος. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τινός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

73. Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἤδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγ-

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3 Νηἲθ Olearius Νῆιν codd. | ὑφ'] ἀφ' LrNPs 6 γένυς Olearius γυνὴ codd. 13 ἀνθρώποις LrNPs ἀνθρώπων, -οις superscripto Z | γε] μὲν LrNPs γε, μὲν superscripto Z 15 [καλῶς] Cobet (*Mnemosyne* 6 [1857] 373) | ἐκείνοις LrNPsK^ac^O^ac^Z^pc^ | ἀποδέχοιντ' (-οιτ' N) LrNPs ἀποδέχοιτ' Z^pc^ 16 αὐτούς LrNPs | γινομένους LrNPs | ναυμάχων] fort. ναυάρχων? 17 Λουκόλλων LrPs Λουκόλων NOC Λουκούλ(λ)ων rell. Λευκόλλων Hercher | Φαυρικίων] Βαφρι-

70. To the people of Sais:

You are descendants of the Athenians, as Plato says in the *Timaeus*. But the Athenians banish from Attica the goddess whom they have in common with you—the goddess called Neith by you and Athena by them—and in so doing they do not remain Greek. I shall explain to you what I mean by "not remaining Greek": There is no wise old man at Athens; for there is not anyone there who has a full beard, since no one has any beard at all. There are flatterers next to their gates, swindlers in front of their gates, pimps before their long walls, and parasites before Munychia and the Piraeus. The goddess does not even have Sunium left to her.

71. To the Ionians:

You think that you should be called Greeks because of your ancestors and their colonization of Ionia long ago. In addition to distinct customs, laws, a language, and a way of life, Greeks also have a distinct bearing and appearance. But you—why in most cases not even your names have remained the same, but instead you have given up these ancestral marks of your identity on account of this recent prosperity. Your distinguished ancestors would be justified in refusing to accept you into their tombs since you have become unknown to them. For previously you bore the names of heroes, sea fighters, and lawgivers, but now you have the names of the Luculli, the Fabricii, and the prosperous Lucanii. I would rather have the name Mimnermus!

72. To Hestiaeus:

Our father Apollonius was descended from three generations of Menodoti. But you wish to be called simply Lucretius or Lupercus. Which of these men is your ancestor? It would be disgraceful to have a person's name without having any physical resemblance to him.

73. To the same person:

By divine will I am quite far from my native land, but I just now began to think about the city's affairs. "Fate's course is ap-

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κίων N Φαβρίκιος L^{m}_{1} Φαβρικίων Cobet et Kayser, ed. min. | καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων om. LrNPs | Λευκανίων] Λευκίων Olearius 18 Μίμνερμος Ald. K Μινέρβιος LrNPsZ^pc Μίνερμος rell. 20 τρὶς] τοῖς LrNPsZ^pc 21 Λουκρήτιος Cichorius apud Norden Λουτρίκιος NZ^m Λουκρίτιος rell. | σὺ] οὐ LrNPsZ^pc 22 ἔχοις] ἔχεις LrNPsSKVRZ | ἔχοις (iterum)] ἔχεις LrNPsSZ

ματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμην. "ὁδεύει μοῖρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰν πρώταν λελόγχασι τιμάν." ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθά που δέος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

74. Τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς.

Ὥρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσῳ, καίπερ ὄντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἑνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὡραῖον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἐδεῖτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἱρεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

75. Τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ὁ παῖς Ἀλυάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὢν βασιλεύς τε καὶ Κροῖσος· ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἤρασθε, παῖδες, νέοι, [πάντες,] ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος;

75a. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰτίαν ἔχετε τὴν πάτριον θεὰν σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν. ἡ δὴ μήτηρ ὀνομάζεται παρ' οἷς μὲν θεῶν, παρ' οἷς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ καρπῶν· ἡ δὲ μία κοινή τε καὶ πάντων. εἶτα πῶς μόνων ὑμῶν ἐχθρὰ τὰ γένη νόμῳ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἔθει, τῶν Δήμητρος ἰδίων;

76. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελῆσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμην ἂν αὐτὸς ἑκών, κληθῆναι μὴ περιμείνας,

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1 ἐβαλλόμην AZ^{pc}? ἐβαλόμαν NpTMzVRL$_1$, fort. recte 2 λελάχασι Lr 7 Μέγαράδε] Μέγαρα NPsHOCQL$_1$Z^{pr} 12 Ἀλυάττεω Kayser -άτεω codd. 14 πάντες om. HOCQ, del. Hercher et Wilamowitz 15 Ἐρινύων Kayser

proaching the time when those who have been allotted the highest office will die." In the future boys will govern and, shortly after them, young men. Here, I suppose, is our fear: that a government directed by the young will fail. But you need not have any fear, for you and I have already lived our lives.

74. To the Stoics:

Bassus had good looks but was starving, though his father had much money. So first he fled to Megara along with one of his so-called lovers, who are pimps as well. For they were both in need of food and traveling money. Then from there he went to Syria. Euphrates welcomed the young man, as did anyone else who likewise desired the then handsome youth, and he would have chosen to perform any shameful act for the sake of winning their good will.

75. To the residents of Sardis:

The son of Alyattes was helpless and unable to save his own city, though he was king and his name was Croesus. But as for you, in what sort of lion have you put your trust in undertaking an endless war fought by children, young men, adults, old men, and also young women and wives? One would think that your city belonged to the Erinyes and not to Demeter. The goddess loves mankind. So what is this wrath of yours?

75a. To the same persons:

You are well known for your worship and veneration of your ancestral goddess. Her title is "mother of the gods" according to some, "mother of mankind" according to others, and—by general consent—"mother of the earth's produce"; but in fact she is the one common mother of all. So why is it that you alone, the special wards of Demeter, have clans that are at odds with law, nature, and established custom?

76. To the same persons:

It is reasonable for an old-fashioned philosopher to wish to visit an old and great city. And I would have gladly visited you without waiting to be invited, as I have been invited by many other cities,

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'Ερινύων codd. 16 δὲ (prius) del. Wilamowitz 19 δὴ μήτηρ scripsi δημήτηρ codd. 21 καρπῶν NPs καρπόν L_2M^{ac} καρπός $M^{pc}V$ fort. καρποῦ?

ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσειν μίαν ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἤθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θεῷ. καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἂν ἐποίησα, στάσις δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

77. Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον, οὐ δι 'Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβῆσθαί μέ τις δόξῃ. καὶ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν Εὐφράτου.

77a. Σιτοκαπήλοις.

Ἡ γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὄντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν ἑαυτῶν μόνων μητέρα. καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσησθε, οὐκ ἐάσω ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ ἑστάναι.

77b. Βασιλεὺς Φραώτης Ἰάρχᾳ διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.

Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεῖται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἥκει τὰ ὑμέτερα. πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὁπόσα ἴστε, ὡς ἀπολεῖται οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ λέγει ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω καὶ τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκας, Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἑπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἥττηνται.

77c. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐδώκατε τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνήσαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας κοινωνήσω τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν <ὑμῖν> εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου.

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8 Σιτοκαπήλοις] Ἀπολλώνιος σιτοκαπήλοις Ἀσπενδίων Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 1.15) 10 ἑαυτῶν] αὐτῶν ὑμῶν vel αὐτῶν vel αὑτῶν Philostrati codd. | παύσεσθε NpTMz παύσεσθε vel παύσαισθε (-αισθαι v) Philostrati codd. | ἐν αὐτῇ] ἐπ' αὐτῆς Philostrati codd. 12 Φραώτης] Φραώρτης Q Εὐφράτης LrPs | σοφοῖς om. T et quidam Philostrati codicum (*Vita Apoll.* 2.41) | post σοφοῖς add. χαίρειν Philostrati codd. 15 λέγει] λέξει LrPs 16 post ἰδέτω add. δὲ Philostrati codd. 18 ad finem add. εὐτύχει (καὶ) εὐτυχεῖτε Philostrati codd. 19 Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς αὐτοῖς] Ἀ. τῷ ὑπάτῳ OC Ἀ. Ἰάρχᾳ καὶ σοφοῖς ἑτέροις χαί-

if I could have made your city one in behavior, disposition, law, and before God. Of course I would have done all in my power; but civil disorder, as someone has said, is more bitter than war.

77. To his pupils:

Everything that I have said has been said on account of philosophy, not on account of Euphrates. Let no one think that I have been afraid of Praxiteles's sword or Lysias's poison. For fear, too, is a mark of Euphrates.

77a. To the grain merchants:

The earth is the mother of everyone, for she is just. But you in your injustice have made her mother of yourselves alone. And if you do not put an end to this behavior of yours, I shall not allow you to remain upon her.

77b. King Phraotes to his teacher Iarchas and Iarchas's wise companions:

The very wise Apollonius considers you wiser than himself and is coming to learn your teachings. Therefore, send him away knowing all that you know so that none of your teachings will perish, for he excels all men in speech and memory. Also let him see the throne on which I sat when you gave me my kingdom, father Iarchas. His followers also deserve praise for having devoted themselves to such a man.

77c. Apollonius to the same persons:

I came to you by land, and you gave me passage to the sea. You shared your special wisdom with me and have allowed me to traverse the heavens. I shall tell these things to the Greeks and shall continue to include you in my discussions just as if you were present, unless I drank the water of Tantalus in vain.

ρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 3.51) 20 μοι om. LrPsZ | δεδώκατε Philostrati codd. | post ἐδώκατε add. καὶ LrPs | θάλατταν Philostrati codd. et LrPs θάλασσαν rell. (Hercher) 22 λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν LrPs ὡς παροῦσι λόγων (λόγῳ VRHOCQ) rell. 23 ὑμῖν supplevi ex Philostrati cod. π | Ταντάλου] γάλακτος LrPs | ad finem add. ἔρρωσθε, ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι Philostrati codd.

77d. Τίτῳ βασιλεῖ.

Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι μηδ' ἐπὶ δηίων αἵματι δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέφανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι γινώσκεις.

77e. Δημητρίῳ κυνί.

Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους, σὺ δὲ ἀληθεῦσαί τέ με πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ πλὴν ὀργῆς πάντα.

77f. Αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταὐτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττον φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία, φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. ἔρρωσο.

78. Γράφων γὰρ τοῖς Βραχμάσιν ὅρκον τινὰ ὀμνύει [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος]· "οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλειον ὕδωρ, οὗ με ἐμυήσατε" (Porph., *De styge*, apud Stob., *Anth.* 1.3.56).

79. <Ἀ>πολλώνιος Γλαύκ<ῳ>.

<Κ>αλὸν μάζα καὶ τρίβων, μὴ κατ' ἐπιτήδευμα δοξοκοπικὸν καλλωπιζόμενα, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὰ πράγματα ἄγῃ πρὸς αὐτά, σεμνῶς φορούμενα (Stob., *Anth.* 2.15.34).

80. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἡρωδιανῷ.

Μὴ φεῦγε διὰ τοὺς † ἀσημάντους χρήσιμος εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χάριτας ἀποδοῦναι (Stob., *Anth.* 2.46.20).

81. Ἀπολλώνιος Νουμηνίῳ.

"Οὐ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡ χάρις τίκτει χάριν" (Stob., *Anth.* 2.46.21).

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1 Τίτῳ βασιλεῖ] Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 6.29) Τῷ αὐτῷ [sc., Οὐεσπασιανῷ] LrNPs 2 δηίῳ Philostrati codd. et N 3 γιγνώσκεις Philostrati codd. | ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. et NpTMz 4 Δημητρίῳ κυνί LrPs Δημητρίῳ NZ Δημιτρίῳ Σουνιεῖ O Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν Philostrati

77d. To the ruler Titus:

Seeing that you did not want to be hailed in war or for shedding the blood of your foes, I give you the crown for moderation, since you know what really warrants a crown.

77e. To Demetrius the Cynic:

I give you to the ruler Titus to teach him how to rule. Prove that what I said to him is true; and, anger apart, be all things unto him.

77f. The emperor Vespasian sends his greetings to Apollonius the philosopher:

If everyone, Apollonius, were inclined to be the kind of philosopher that you are, then both philosophy and poverty would be most fortunate. Philosophy would be incorruptible, and poverty would be self-incurred. Farewell.

78. In writing to the Brahmans he [i.e., Apollonius] swears an oath: "not by the water of Tantalus, in which you initiated me."

79. Apollonius to Glaucus:

Eating barley bread and wearing a simple cloak are good practices, not if they are flaunted in the manner of one seeking repute, but only if they are seriously observed, when circumstances naturally lead to them.

80. Apollonius to Herodianus:

Do not refuse to be of service to good men merely because of .... For the former are quite capable of paying you back for the favors that you do for the latter.

81. Apollonius to Numenius:

"With the majority of men kindness does not beget kindness."

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codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 6.33) 6 με] μοι LrPs et fere omnes Philostrati codd. | πάντα om. N et quidam Philostrati codicum | ad finem add. ἔρρωσο Philostrati codd. 7 φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν om. Z 9 ἔπραττε Philostrati codd. (*Vita Apoll.* 8.7.3, p. 306 Kayser, ed. min.) 10 ἔρρωσο om. Z | *Subscriptiones*: τέλος Ald. KEO τέλος τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν NpTMzPW nulla subscriptio in rell.

82. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος αὔταρκες οὐ δύναται ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι (Stob., *Anth.* 3.10.63).

83. Ἀπολλώνιος Δηλίῳ.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον (Stob., *Anth.* 3.11.28).

84. Ἀπολλώνιος Εἰδομένῃ.

Ἐζηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά (Stob., *Anth.* 3.17.13).

85. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδέν με δόξητε ῥᾳδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου ταύτῃ διαίτης ὢν τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ (Stob., *Anth.* 3.17.14).

86. Ἀπολλώνιος Μακεδόνι.

Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μανία (Stob., *Anth.* 3.20.48).

87. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀριστοκλεῖ.

Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται (Stob., *Anth.* 3.20.49).

88. Ἀπολλώνιος Δημοκράτει.

Ὁ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἐᾷ διαγνῶναι τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἠδίκησεν (Stob., *Anth.* 3.20.50).

89. Ἀπολλώνιος Σατύρῳ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι (Stob., *Anth.* 3.23.14).

90. Ἀπολλώνιος Δίωνι.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος (Stob., *Anth.* 3.29.82).

91. Ἀπολλώνιος Δαναῷ.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα (Stob., *Anth.* 3.29.83).

82. Apollonius to Euphrates:

The soul that does not consider the question of the body's self-sufficiency cannot make itself self-sufficient.

83. Apollonius to Delius:

To speak falsely is the mark of a slave, but the truth is noble.

84. Apollonius to Eidomene:

We have striven to achieve self-sufficiency not in order to use inexpensive and plain things exclusively, but so that we might not dread such things.

85. Apollonius to his pupils:

Do not think that I commend anything to others lightly. For it is only because I myself subsist on barley bread and other foods that are compatible with it that I recommend such things to you.

86. Apollonius to Macedo:

A quick temper blossoms into madness.

87. Apollonius to Aristocles:

If the emotion of anger is not conciliated and assuaged, then it becomes a physical disease.

88. Apollonius to Democrates:

If a person displays excessive anger over small offenses, he does not allow one who commits an offense to distinguish his lesser wrong-doings from his more serious ones.

89. Apollonius to Satyrus:

Most men defend their own offenses and condemn those of others.

90. Apollonius to Dio:

Non-existence is of no account; it is existence that is toilsome.

91. Apollonius to Danaus:

A task that is taken in hand is not beset with difficulties.

92. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε περὶ τοῦ μὴ λέγειν ἃ μὴ δεῖ. παντελῶς γὰρ ἀπαιδεύτου τινός ἐστι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σιωπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐκλαλεῖν τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα (Stob., *Anth.* 3.33.13).

93. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές (Stob., *Anth.* 3.36.28).

94. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι. οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχαι, εἰ ἠνιῶντο ὡς ἀνιῶσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμακρηγόρουν (Stob., *Anth.* 3.36.29).

95. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἐὰν εὐτυχῶσι, κακῶς ζῶσιν (Stob., *Anth.* 3.38.54).

96. Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσίῳ.

Καλόν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἡσυχία (Stob., *Anth.* 4.16.16).

97. Ἀπολλώνιος Λύκῳ.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δι' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος (Stob., *Anth.* 4.32A.9).

98. Ἀπολλώνιος Κορνηλιανῷ.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὖ πράττοντι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός (Stob., *Anth.* 4.53.34.)

99. Ἀπολλώνιος Νουμηνίῳ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἵων φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν (Stob., *Anth.* 4.56.35).

100. Ἀπολλώνιος Θεαιτήτῳ.

Τὸ λυπούμενον ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ (Stob., *Anth.* 4.56.37).

92. Apollonius to his pupils:

Try hard not to say what should not be said. For it is the mark of an utterly uneducated person to be unable to keep silence and, instead, to babble indiscretions.

93. Apollonius to his pupils:

Loquaciousness entails many blunders, but silence is safe.

94. Apollonius to Euphrates:

The best of men express themselves very concisely. Idle talkers, then, would not be so long-winded if they experienced the same vexation that they cause others.

95. Apollonius to his brothers:

You should envy no man. For good men deserve what they have; and if the wicked do fare well, their lives are of poor quality.

96. Apollonius to Dionysius:

It is good to have learned what a great thing tranquillity is before suffering.

97. Apollonius to Lycus:

Being poor is not shameful in itself, but being poor for a shameful reason is a disgrace.

98. Apollonius to Cornelianus:

For a man who fares well life is short, but for one who is unfortunate it is long.

99. Apollonius to Numenius:

We should not mourn the friends who have been taken away from us, but should remember that we have lived the best part of our lives in the company of our friends.

100. Apollonius to Theaetetus:

Assuage your grief by considering the troubles of others.

Epp. Apoll. 1

Εὐφράτῃ: The Stoic philosopher, pupil of Musonius Rufus and friend of the younger Pliny. See *PIR*² E 121; P. Grimal, "Deux figures de la *Correspondance* de Pline: le philosophe Euphratès et le rhéteur Isée," *Latomus* 14 (1955) 370-83; Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Epp.* 1.10; and my comments below on the letters of Apollonius to Euphrates.

The very favorable comments on Euphrates that are found in the younger Pliny (*Epp.* 1.10), Epictetus (Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 3.15.8, 4.8.17 ff.) and Fronto, p. 133 van den Hout, stand in sharp contrast with Apollonius's and Philostratus's view of him. In the letters and the *VA* Euphrates is portrayed as a false philosopher, corrupt and despicable. An open quarrel broke out between Apollonius and Euphrates in 69 (*VA* 5.28-39). Euphrates attacked ξὺν ὀργῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαις, Apollonius φιλοσόφως καὶ ξὺν ἐλέγχῳ (*VA* 5.39). Apollonius wrote deservedly critical letters, Euphrates resorted to ψευδῆ γράμματα (*VA* 1.13). (But contrast Philostr., *VS* 488). Through an agent, Euphrates spred slanders about Apollonius among the Ethiopian gymnosophists, who consequently gave Apollonius a cold reception (*VA* 6.7-9, 13). Finally, Euphrates played a significant part in Apollonius's indictment: He fed Domitian's suspicions about Apollonius's treasonable activities and paid off Apollonius's accuser (*VA* 7.9, 8.3). Philostratus's Euphrates tries to victimize Apollonius. According to an earlier and unsympathetic biographer of Apollonius, Moeragenes, it was Apollonius who victimized Euphrates and other philosophers by the force of his magic (Origen, *Contra Cels.* 6.41; see *Epp. Apoll.* 16 and 17 with my comments).

We have more letters to Euphrates than to any other single addressee—seventeen in the independently transmitted collection and two from Stobaeus. Philostratus knew many letters to Euphrates (*VA* 5.39, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν [sc., Εὐφράτην] ἐπιστολῶν, πλείους γάρ) but quotes (perhaps) only one: see Appendix 4.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους . . . ποτε γένοιτο: The letter begins with the traditional rivalry between philosophy and rhetoric. In the Empire the term "sophist" seems to have been commonly used with the connotation "virtuoso rhetor": G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969) 12-14. γραμματιστάς in *Epp. Apoll.* 1 does not mean "low clerks" (Conybeare); it refers to the teacher of literary fundamentals, reading and writing. The student moved from the γραμματιστής to the γραμματικός to the rhetor/sophist: Philo, *De congr. erudit. grat.* 148 [540M]; Suet., *Gram.* 4; Sext. Emp., *Math.* 1.44-56; Mart. Cap. 3.229; H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*

dans l'antiquité[2] (1950) 223. Apollonius is scorning the whole of rhetorical culture, from its most illustrious practitioners down to the lowliest schoolmasters who prepare students for advanced study.

τάδε μὲν οὖν . . . πάνυ πρὸς σέ: Since Euphrates at least professes philosophy, he does not seem to be one of the σοφισταί, γραμματισταί, or similar ἄνθρωποι κακοδαίμονες condemned in the opening sentence. However, some doubt is expressed in the words πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἷς. *Epp. Apoll.* 3 imputes κακοδαιμονία to Euphrates. Also, σοφιστής had long been used as a term of abuse, meaning a fraud, a false or inferior version of what one professes to be, or (as Cic., *Acad.* 2.72, explains in a discussion of Greek philosophy) one who pursues philosophy *ostentationis aut quaestus causa*: *TGL*, s.v.; G. R. Stanton, *AJPh* 94 (1973) 351-58; C. P. Jones in G. W. Bowersock (ed.), *Approaches to the Second Sophistic* (1974) 12. In this sense of the word, Euphrates *is* a sophist and thus is subtly included among those denounced in the first sentence of *Epp. Apoll.* 1.

In *Epp. Apoll.* 2 Euphrates's teaching is called σοφιστεία, and he is chided for profiting monetarily from it. In *Epp. Apoll.* 3 Euphrates is accused of ἀλαζονεία, an insult commonly coupled elsewhere with σοφιστεία (e.g., Ps.-Pl., *Eryx.* 399C; Dio Chrys. 4.33; Plut., *Adv. Colot.* 1118D, 1124C; Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 2.20.23). For Euphrates's defective philosophy see, in addition to the implicit criticism of *Epp. Apoll.* 1 (θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη κτλ.), *Epp. Apoll.* 18 and the more emphatic *Epp. Apoll.* 50; cf. Philostr., *VA* 2.26, 5.39, 6.7.

In hinting that Euphrates is a sophist, Apollonius may also be suggesting that his oratorical style is more accomplished and ornate than it should be for one who claims to be a philosopher; see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 94.

τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν: The plural may be intended as nothing more than a veiled allusion to Apollonius himself.

ἐπεί σοι καὶ γῆρας κτλ.: If the chronology (or supposed chronology) of the letters is squared with that of the *VA*, then this and the subsequent letters to Euphrates have the year 69 as their *terminus post quem*. From that year on, Apollonius and Euphrates were at odds with one another, and Apollonius chided Euphrates in letters (Philostr., *VA* 5.39). Euphrates died at an advanced age early in the reign of Hadrian: Dio Cass. 69.8.3 (διὰ τὸ γῆρας); Jerome, *Chron.*, p. 198 Helm. It would be hazardous to attempt to specify, especially in philosophical or moral discourse, the lowest age at which the nearness of old age and death may be appropriately remarked.

Epp. Apoll. 2

φύσει μαθήσει [κτήσει] χρήσει: Olearius rightly excised κτήσει. What we are left with is the common notion of the trifold basis of virtue: natural disposition (φύσις), reasoning or theoretical training

(μάθησις, λόγος, διδαχή), and habituation through practical exercise (χρῆσις, ἔθος, ἄσκησις). See Arist., *Pol.* 7.13 [1332A.40 ff.]; *Eth. Nic.* 10.9 [1179B.20 ff.]; *SVF* 3.214; Ps.-Plut., *De lib. educ.* 2A-C; A. C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (1963) 28-50. φύσις, μάθησις, and χρῆσις, Apollonius writes, are all acceptable routes to virtue. He may be implicitly eschewing debate over the relative importance of each of the three. Euphrates (it is implied) is defective in the three areas, hence in the virtue that he claims to teach. Cf. esp. *Epp. Apoll.* 52, *ad fin.*

The interpolator of κτήσει may have been thinking of the common correlative use of κτῆσις and χρῆσις: see, e.g., Pl., *Menex.* 238B; Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, 1.8 [1098B.32]; Xen., *Rep. Lac.* 7.6; Cic., *Fam.* 7.29.1. Alternatively, κτήσει may be a corruption rather than an interpolation; if so, I would venture ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει μαθήσει χρήσει κτητή. For the "possession" of virtue (ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι, ἀρετῆς κτῆσις), cf. Soph., frag. 194 Pearson; Thuc. 1.123; Pl., *Symp.* 180B, *Prt.* 340E.

ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 12, ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς.

ἢ σοφιστείας ... ἐντυγχάνοντας: The word σοφιστεία had acquired the derogatory connotation "paid teaching" or "fee-taking" in the fifth century B.C.: see W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* III (1969) = *The Sophists* (1971) 35-40. At *VA* 1.13 Philostratus writes that Apollonius tried to dissuade Euphrates from τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαί τε καὶ τὴν σοφίαν καπηλεύειν (cf. *VA* 6.13). Apollonius will take money from pupils only if it is given in the right spirit and received out of need, not for profit or as a φιλοσοφίας μισθός: see *Epp. Apoll.* 42 and 51.

τὰ Μεγαβύξου: For the spelling of the name (-βυξ-/-βυζ-), see *LSJ* s.v. Megabyxus was an aristocratic Persian name (Bagabukhsha), also used as a sacred title by the eunuch highpriests of Ephesian Artemis (*PW* 15:1 [1931] 121-23). Here it seems to be used generically (cf. the expression Μεγαβύζειοι λόγοι in Hesychius) to connote lavish oriental wealth.

Epp. Apoll. 3

μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας: After Ἰταλίας understand καὶ τῆς Συρίας. For this brachylogy, cf. Ar., *Ach.* 434 with J. van Leeuwen's note in *Aristophanis Acharnenses*[2] (1901).

ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος: Euphrates's ties with Syria were more than commercial. Though disagreeing on his native (?) city, Philostr., *VS* 488, 536, and Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἐπιφάνεια, agree that Euphrates was a Syrian (against Eunap., *VS* 454, who calls him an Egyptian); see P. Grimal, *Latomus* 14 (1955) 371, n. 5. Euphrates married a daughter of Pompeius Julianus, whom Pliny calls *princeps provinciae* [sc., *Syriae*], and was living in Syria when Pliny developed a

friendship with him in the early 80s. See Pliny, *Epp.* 1.10, and cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 74.

ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν . . . πλέον δὲ οὐδέν: For the text (= Olearius's) λεγομέναις . . . τρίβων, cf. F. D'Oria, *Vichiana* 1 (1972) 144-46. "Quid sint βασιλέως διπλαὶ [sic] difficile dictu" (Olearius); presumably they are lavish clothes, perhaps dyed purple. Cf. *Epp. Cratetis* 18 and 23 Hercher and Dio Chrys. 47.25, where wearing the τρίβων is contrasted with wearing purple garments, and Hor., *Epist.* 1.17.25 ff., where *purpureus amictus* is opposed to *pannus duplex* (= τρίβων διπλοῦς). If the text and interpretation of the first sentence are correct, then Olearius's ποτε seems a necessary correction for the manuscripts' τότε in the second sentence: τότε would refer to the same time as ἐπῆλθες and hence would have Euphrates simultaneously wearing "kingly clothes" and the philosopher's τρίβων. The words πλέον δὲ οὐδέν seem to look both back to the first sentence and forward to what follows: At some past time Euphrates wore nothing more than the τρίβων and beard *and* did not have the wealth that he now has as a result of his commercial ventures. For the τρίβων and beard as signs of a philosopher, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 70 and 79.

Pliny, writing after January 98 (Sherwin-White 108), mentions Euphrates's *ingens et cana barba* (*Epp.* 1.10.6), and his words *nullus horror in cultu* (1.10.7) probably mean that Euphrates was not wearing the τρίβων. Similarly, *Epp. Apoll.* 3 alludes to an abandonment of the τρίβων (but not necessarily of the beard). Epictetus quotes a saying of Euphrates (Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 4.8.17-20) in which the latter rejects the σύμβολα of philosophy, by which he seems to mean the beard and τρίβων (note ibid. 4.8.15). But Euphrates is speaking about the past: ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπειρώμην λανθάνειν φιλοσοφῶν, . . . ἦν μοι, . . . ᾔδειν . . . ὅτι . . . ἐποίουν, . . . ᾔσθιον κτλ. He seems to imply that he changed his practice by the time he spoke or wrote these words. (For a different interpretation, see P. Grimal, *Latomus* 14 [1955] 371-72, 377). It is not clear how (or whether) the three notices should be coordinated, especially since two of them (Apollonius's letter and Euphrates's saying) cannot be dated and the authenticity of one (Apollonius's letter) is questionable. We should not exclude the possibility that Euphrates changed his habits of dress and grooming several times over the course of his life.

τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας: For καινῆς, "strange" (thus Conybeare) seems appropriate to the context. P. Grimal (*Latomus* 14 [1955] 376-77) translates "nouveau" and sees an "inexactitude manifeste" in this letter: "bien que ce texte soit censé avoir été écrit dans la vieillesse d'Euphratès (ainsi que l'indique l'allusion à la longue barbe blanche), on nous parle de lui comme d'un nouveau riche . . . ." But even if we give καινῆς the sense "new," the implication need not be "this first" or "this unprecedented," but merely "this most recent" example of Euphrates's merchandise. At some unspecified past time (ποτε) Euphrates was not involved in commerce; he subsequently

became and still was involved when this letter purports to have been written (νῦν).

For Euphrates's commercial activities, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 7 and Philostr., *VA* 8.7.11 (p. 318 Kayser, ed. min.). But we need not infer with Grimal (*Latomus* 14 [1955] 377) that Pliny's enthusiastic advice to Attius Clemens to come and hear Euphrates in Rome as soon as possible (*Epp.* 1.10.11) necessarily implies that Euphrates's stay there would be short due to commercial obligations in the east. Note Apollonius's condemnation of ἔμποροι and ναύκληροι at *VA* 4.32.

Ζήνων . . . ἔμπορος: Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, had been a merchant, like his father, before he turned to philosophy (*PW* 10A [1972] 85). From Diogenes Laertius 7.2 we happen to know that on one occasion his cargo was Phoenician purple. Apollonius's notion that Zeno dealt (exclusively?) in τραγήματα may be a false inference from Zeno's well-known later frugality. *Epp. Apoll.* 5 develops the point implied here—that in his style of living Euphrates is untrue to the philosophy that he professes.

Epp. Apoll. 4

τοῖς παισίν: Conybeare's "servants" (i.e., slaves) is certainly possible; Euphrates surely had slaves, as did Apollonius (Philostr., *VA* 8.30; *Epp. Apoll.* 48.2). But I prefer "children" with Olearius, Hercher, and *PIR*² E 121. Euphrates's three children (*quos diligentissime instituit*) are mentioned by Pliny, *Epp.* 1.10.8. P. Grimal, *Latomus* 14 (1955) 375, reasonably surmises that the marriage that produced these children was entered upon in the early 70s. Cf. *Epp. Diogenis* 7 Hercher, where Ps.-Diogenes, writing about his life, tells his money-oriented father (Diog. Laert. 6.20) that he should be pleased ὅτι ὀλίγοις ἀρκεῖται ὁ παῖς σου.

ἔχεις . . . φίλους: Conybeare's "You will still retain both your fatherland and your friends" [sc., if you give your wealth away] is forced. I understand "You have a fatherland and friends among whom you may distribute your excessive wealth." Cf. the explanation that Apollonius gives King Vardanes upon refusing the gifts offered by him: ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, . . . οὔπω φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐκτησάμην (Philostr., *VA* 1.35; cf. 1.40).

Epp. Apoll. 5

ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς [sc., λόγος]: Cicero also mentions an *Epicuri de voluptate liber* (*Div.* 2.27 [59]; H. Usener, *Epicurea* [1887] 101), perhaps only an alternate title for the περὶ τέλους, one of the works listed in Diogenes Laertius's life of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. 10.27-28; *PW* Suppl. 11 [1968] 597). But it is possible to understand the word λόγων in this letter as "doctrines" or "teachings" (thus Olearius) rather than "treatises."

πέφηνε γὰρ . . . ἀληθέστατος: Euphrates claims to be a Stoic—he owns the works of Chrysippus—but by his luxurious living he advocates Epicurus's hedonism. For the typical misrepresentation of Epicurus's ἡδονή implicit in this letter, see Epicurus in Diog. Laert. 10.131-32; C. Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (1928) 482-83, 488-90, 524-25, 532; cf. Philostr., *VA* 6.11 (p. 217 Kayser, ed. min.), ἡδονῶν ἑσμόν. In taking gifts from the emperor Euphrates proves himself even more "epicurean" than Epicurus.

γέγραπταί τι κτλ.: There is a slight ellipsis in the apodosis γέγραπταί . . . γράμμασιν; cf. Kühner-Gerth 577.4b. For gifts of money from an emperor, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 51. Cf. ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν with *Epp. Apoll.* 8.2, ἔλαβεν ἂν . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν.

Epp. Apoll. 6

Note Apollonius's rebuke of a young νεόπλουτος at Philostr., *VA* 5.22.

Epp. Apoll. 7

Αἰγὰς: Presumably the Cilician harbor: D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) 274-75, 1150-51. For the various spellings of the name of the city and of its people, see also *PW* 1 (1894) 945; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγαί. For Euphrates as a merchant, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 3.

καὶ κολακευτέον . . . Γέτας: Midas and Geta(s) are typical names for slaves (*TGL* s.vv.; S. Copalle, *De servorum graecorum nominibus* [1908] 31, 46). Euphrates fawns on all who can help him get richer, regardless of their moral quality (θρυπτομένους) or social status (Μίδας, Γέτας). For Euphrates's courting of the rich and influential see Philostr., *VA* 8.7.11 (p. 318 Kayser, ed. min.). Such behavior on the part of philosophers is condemned by Dio Chrys. 77(78).34-35 and Lucian, *Nigr.* 24. Contrast Apollonius's behavior at *VA* 4.41. In *Epp. Apoll.* 7 legacy-hunting (among other things) is suggested, especially in the references to the old and the sick: cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2.5; Mart. 11.44; Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 344-63.

πάντα . . . κάλων σείειν: A proverbial expression, occurring with σείειν and other verbs: see *LSJ* or (better) *TGL* s.v. κάλως and add Dio Chrys. 4.81 and Julian, *Epp.* 114.437A Bidez, to the examples given there. By making ἔμπορος the subject of the proverb (a feature not found in the other examples of the expression), Apollonius tailors it to fit the special case of Euphrates. The connotation is "to use every effort," "to leave no stone unturned" in seeking riches.

τὴν ἁλίαν . . . οἴκῳ: Apollonius prefers poverty (τὴν ἁλίαν τρυπᾶν) and justice (ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ) to the "unphilosophical" expedients which Euphrates must employ to secure his wealth. For the salt-cellar as a mark of simple living, cf. Callim., *Epigr.* 47(48) Pfeiffer; Hor., *Carm.* 2.16.14. *Terebrare salinum* (Pers. 5.138) is the Latin equivalent of τὴν ἁλίαν τρυπᾶν. Olearius's erroneous ἁλιὰν (see his comment, *ad loc.*) persisted in subsequent editions.

Epp. Apoll. 8

(1) **τὰ συνήθη . . . πρόχειρα:** I.e., the typical and obvious things that would be said by any maligner of a Pythagorean ascetic. The sense will be different, of course, if Lr's reading is adopted.

(1) **λουτρὸν ἅπαν . . . τοὺς πόδας:** I.e., because he remains inside, he does not need to bathe. Cf. the juxtaposition μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός in *Epp. Apoll.* 43. But the Philostratean Apollonius will take a cold bath (*VA* 1.16, 2.27) and wash his feet (*VA* 8.13). For ἀλουσία in the Pythagorean tradition, see Burkert, index s.v. "baths." Should we assume that the Apollonius of *Epp. Apoll.* 8 practices ἀνυποδησία, an observance that Philostratus attributes to the sage at *VA* 1.8? At *VA* 6.11 (p. 218 Kayser, ed. min.) Apollonius represents Pythagoreanism as allowing shoes of bark; Philostratus may be hinting, as he elsewhere states (*VA* 1.13), that in his asceticism Apollonius went beyond what Pythagoras required. Apollonius's "house" may actually be temples; for his living in them, see *VA* 1.8, 1.16, 4.40, 5.20, 8.15. For this practice, cf. O. Hense (ed.), *Teletis Reliquiae*[2] (1909) 8, 41; Dio Chrys. 6.14.

(1) **κομᾷ . . . βάρβαρος:** In the *VA* Apollonius regards this practice as both Pythagorean (see Burkert 202) and Spartan: *VA* 1.8, 1.32, 8.7.6 (p. 309 Kayser, ed. min.). For Apollonius's admiration of Sparta, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 64. In referring to the "Greek" in *Epp. Apoll.* 8, Apollonius may be thinking especially of the "orthodox" Spartan.

(1) **ἐσθῆτα . . . καθαρώτατα:** ἱερῶν could be construed as neuter rather than masculine: "Of holy garments, these (linen) are the purest." The wearing of linen and prohibition of wool (because derived from an animal) are Pythagorean observances. Cf. Philostr., *VA* 1.8, 1.32, 6.11 (pp. 217-18 Kayser, ed. min.), 8.7.4-5 (pp. 307-309 Kayser, ed. min.); Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 21 [100]. At *VA* 2.40 Apollonius approves of linen ἐπειδὴ ἐοίκασι τρίβωνι τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ πάνυ Ἀττικῶν.

(1) **ὃ πρέπει καὶ θεῷ:** Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 52, θείαν μαντικήν. For the Philostratean Apollonius's prophetic powers, see Petzke 172-73.

(2) **καὶ σωμάτων . . . ἔγκλημα:** For Apollonius's healing powers, see Petzke 125 ff., 179 ff.

(2) **σιτεῖται . . . ἐσθίουσι:** The intended criticism is contained in the word μόνος. But Apollonius ignores that point, taking σιτεῖται as a compliment and expatiating on it. For the sometimes negative sense of ἐσθίω ("consume," "devour"), see *TGL* and *LSJ* s.v.

(2) **σιγῆσαι . . . ἀδύνατος:** Instead of explaining why he does not speak more, Apollonius replies that his unattainable goal is *complete* silence. Olearius and Kayser spoil the point with their emendations. Apollonius observed complete silence only for a five year period

early in his life (a Pythagorean practice), and he found the observance difficult (*VA* 1.14; cf. Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 31 [195], πάντων γὰρ χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν ἐγκρατευμάτων τὸ γλώσσης κρατεῖν). See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 92.

(2) **σαρκῶν . . . πάντων:** A Pythagorean observance. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 43; Philostr., *VA* 1.1, 8, 21, 32; 6.11 (p. 217 Kayser, ed. min.); 8.7.4 (p. 307 Kayser, ed. min.); Burkert 180-83, 199.

(2) **εἴ τι ἦν . . . ἂν ἔλαβεν:** I take εἴ τι ἦν to mean "if any money *etc.* had been offered to Apollonius," not, with Olearius, "if Apollonius had been a man of any importance" ("aliquanti esse"). I am not inclined to accept Hercher's construing of πολιτείας as a genitive dependent on δωρεάς. δωρεάς might have some specific sense, "legacies" (cf. my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 7, καὶ κολακευτέον . . . Γέτας) or "privileges and immunities" (*LSJ* s.v.). For Euphrates's pursuit of gifts of money, see *Epp. Apoll.* 5, 7, and 51 with my comments.

(2) **οὐ πατρὶς κτλ.:** Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 44.1, εἴ με . . . μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρὶς ἀγνοεῖ. For the theme ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἔδοξε χαλεπὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὁ βίος, see Dio Chrys. 47.2-6 and note J. Miller, *Philologus* 51 (1892) 139, and Petzke 164.

Epp. Apoll. 9

Δίωνι: The sophist and philosopher Dio of Prusa "Chrysostom," who is also the addressee of *Epp. Apoll.* 10 and 90. According to Philostratus, Dio and Apollonius were good friends; and they, along with Euphrates, welcomed and advised Vespasian in Alexandria in 69 A.D. (*VA* 5.27 ff., 8.7.2 [p. 305 Kayser, ed. min.]). Grosso, who is far more confident than most about the historical value of the *VA*, is inclined to accept the friendship of Apollonius and Dio as historical (see esp. Grosso 414-18, 523).

Αὐλοῖς . . . λόγῳ: *Epp. Apoll.* 9, or at least a version of it, was known to Philostratus, who quotes its opening words at *VA* 5.40: ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος φιλοσοφία ῥητορικωτέρα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον κατεσκευασμένη μᾶλλον, ὅθεν διορθούμενος αὐτόν φησιν, "αὐλῷ καὶ λύρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ θέλγε" (= *Epp. Apoll.* 116 Hercher). There is no way to decide whether we have in the *VA*'s version of the opening sentence a genuine variant or merely a loose quotation or deliberate rephrasing by Philostratus. For the critical comparison of oral discourse to the captivating sound of the flute or lyre, cf. Pl., *Resp.* 3.397A; Sen., *Epp.* 108.6-7; Musonius Rufus, frag. 49 Hense.

τοῦτό (sc., τὸ ἀληθές) σοι πρακτέον: Olearius's *hoc tibi agendum* and Hercher's *hoc tibi faciendum* are merely literal equations. Conybeare translates "and at this [the truth] you should aim in your actions." For the sense that I give πρακτέον in my translation, cf. *LSJ* s.v. πράσσω III, 1. The Biblical phrase ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν is of no help here, since it is a Semitism: C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the*

Fourth Gospel (1953) 174; G. Kittel and G. W. Bromiley, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* I (1964) 242.

τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον: The intrusive γραπτέον after τοῦτο (see app. crit.) is either a false variant for or an attempted elaboration on ῥητέον. It is clear from the first sentence that oral, not written discourse is at issue in this letter.

Epp. Apoll. 10

Apollonius's abandonment of public discourse is also the subject of *Epp. Apoll.* 34. Perhaps cf. Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 32, [Πυθαγόρας] παρηγγύα φιλοτιμίαν φεύγειν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν . . . ἐκτρέπεσθαι δὲ τὰς μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ὁμιλίας. In contrast, Dio criticized philosophers who, like the Apollonius of *Epp. Apoll.* 10, refused to speak publicly. Their silence, he argued, roused suspicions, and they were of no use to cities in need of moral and political guidance (32.8, 20; cf. 35.4). *Epp. Apoll.* 10 and 34 are discordant with Philostratus's account. The Philostratean Apollonius may have uttered a variant of the precept λάθε βιώσας and been accused of advocating a life of retirement (*VA* 8.22, 28); but, like Dio, he had no theoretical objection to addressing large audiences. διάλεξις ἐς πάντας was part of his daily routine throughout his public life (*VA* 1.16 *sub fine*, 4.41, 8.26).

ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος: I.e., one who lectures to the masses.

Epp. Apoll. 11

Caesarea Maritima was the administrative center of the province of Judaea and the residence of its Roman governor (e.g., Tac., *Hist.* 2.78). It was given the title *colonia* by Vespasian and granted *jus Italicum* by Titus (Pliny, *HN* 5.69; *Dig.* 50.15.8.7). For its size, remarked by Apollonius (μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης), cf. Joseph., *BJ* 3.9.1 [409], μεγίστην τῆς . . . Ἰουδαίας πόλιν, and Rufinus's translation of Ps.-Clement, *Recogn.* 1.12 (*PG* 1.1213), *Palaestinae urbs maxima*. Tension between the Jews and non-Jews in Caesarea culminated in the massacre of the city's entire Jewish population at the outbreak of the Jewish uprising of A.D. 66-70 (Joseph., *BJ* 2.18.1 [457]). For further details, see the historical survey in the report of the Missione archeologica milanese per gli scavi di Cesarea Marittima, *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (1966) 25-32; L. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (1975). For Apollonius's alleged attitude towards the Jewish uprising, see Philostr., *VA* 5.27. In *Epp. Apoll.* 11 Apollonius, the pagan sage and promoter of Hellenism, compliments and encourages the ἤθη Ἑλληνικά of the Palestinian city. Apollonius's praise of προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταί may be an allusion to earlier pagan struggles against the Jews (Levine, *Caesarea* 35, 170). On Caesarea's Greek population, note Joseph., *BJ* 3.9.1 [409], Καισάρειαν . . . τὸ πλέον (*v. l.* πλεῖστον) ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων οἰκουμένην, written in the middle or late 70s (H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, The Man and the Historian* [1929] 34-35). It is not clear

what the honor was for which Apollonius thanks the city; Olearius conjectured that it was a grant of citizenship (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 62). For municipal πρόβουλοι, to whom *Epp. Apoll.* 12 and 13 are also addressed, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 63-64.

(1) **ἐμοί τε . . . καὶ ἄλλῳ δὲ:** For τε (*per conj.*) . . . καὶ . . . δέ, see Denniston 203.

(1) **ἂν ᾖ τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν:** Caesarea is not a typical city in Apollonius's judgment, because it has taken the trouble to honor him. But even if it had not so distinguished itself, it would still stand above other cities because of its size, laws, etc.

(2) **πόλις οὖσα:** Olearius comments, "cui propterea primae competunt, ut privatus honorare urbem incipere debeat potius quam urbs privatum." Cf. the opening words of the letter.

(2) **γραμμάτων κοινῶν:** Alluding to a letter sent to Apollonius to announce the honor granted him?

Epp. Apoll. 12

To which Seleucia this and the next letter were addressed is not apparent. Seleucia Pieria readily comes to mind (Wilamowitz 310 and note *VA* 3.58), but others cannot be excluded. But if the city is Cilician Seleucia, the Alexander mentioned at the end of *Epp. Apoll.* 13 cannot be identified with the Cilician city's native son Alexander Peloplaton (*pace* Olearius *ad loc.*, Jessen 34), with whose mother some alleged that Apollonius had an affair. Peloplaton, who served the emperor Marcus Aurelius and may not have reached the age of 60 when he died, is chronologically disqualified; furthermore, his father's name was Alexander, not Strato, the name of the father of the Alexander of *Epp. Apoll.* 13. See Philostr., *VS* 570-76.

Πόλις . . . τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας: I.e., a city's religious piety brings it good fortune, and its acknowledgment of men of attested merit inspires them to advance in virtue. Apollonius means to include himself, of course, among these "men of attested merit." With τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 2, ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. Cf., e.g., Dittenberg. *SIG* 799.28-29, μαρτυρηθέντας . . . καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τυχεῖν ἀπο(δο)χῆς; in addition to the standard lexica, Lampe s.v. μαρτυρέω I, D; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 3 (1946) 22-23, 13 (1965) 207. I take ὠφέλησε to be a gnomic aorist.

ὥστε θεὸν . . . τηλικαῦτα δυνατός: Since the Seleucians performed the original unspecified act of kindness and since "what is second in order [i.e., requital] can never be first in nature," they are in a superior position and their act of kindness cannot be matched by a mere mortal. Only God can fully repay them. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 11.

For παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 11, πράττων [sc., τὸ εὔχεσθαι] ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. But perhaps read ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν and associate it with ἀμείψασθαι: "to appeal to God to reward you on our behalf."

Epp. Apoll. 13

τοὺς ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε: Cf. Arist., *Protr.* frag. 60 Rose[3] = 10b Walzer, τοῦτο γὰρ θείως οἱ ἀρχαιότεροι λέγουσι τὸ φάναι διδόναι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ ζῆν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ κολάσει μεγάλων τινῶν ἁμαρτημάτων; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 18 [85], ἐπὶ κολάσει γὰρ ἐλθόντας [sc., ἀνθρώπους] δεῖ κολασθῆναι. The Philostratean Apollonius calls life a prison (*VA* 7.26) and a servitude (*VA* 8.31). See also *Epp. Apoll.* 55.1 and 58.6.

Ἀλέξανδρον: See my opening comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 12.

Epp. Apoll. 14

Apollonius would be honored by an invitation to Italy from the emperor (thus Olearius, probably rightly), but would not submit himself (as Euphrates would) to the temptations associated with the acceptance of such an invitation. For Apollonius's rejection of such invitations from the emperors Vespasian and Nerva and from Titus before his full accession, see Philostr., *VA* 5.37, 5.41, 6.31, 8.27. For rejections of similar invitations by other philosophers, see Diog. Laert. 2.25, 2.115, 6.29, 6.44, 7.6, 7.185, 9.13-14; *Epp. Diogenis* 4 Hercher. *Epp. Apoll.* 14, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου κτλ., seems to contradict Philostratus's account, since according to it Apollonius *was* invited to Italy; but perhaps in this letter Apollonius is thinking only of Domitian, from whom, according to Philostratus, Apollonius apparently did not receive any invitations and with whom Euphrates cooperated against Apollonius (see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 1, Εὐφράτῃ). I am assuming that *Epp. Apoll.* 14 does not purport to have been written before Vespasian's first invitation to Apollonius to come to Italy: see *VA* 5.37, 5.39.

Epp. Apoll. 15

Plato, *Resp.* 10.617E: ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον, ἣν τιμῶν καὶ ἀτιμάζων πλέον καὶ ἔλαττον αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἕξει. In their Platonic context—the prophet reporting Lachesis's advice to souls about to choose new lives on earth—the words are not restricted to the question of riches. For Euphrates's unphilosophical pursuit of material wealth, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 2-7. For the thought, cf. Apollonius's remark to a rich young man at *VA* 5.22, δοκεῖς μοι . . . οὐ σὺ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἡ οἰκία κεκτῆσθαι—a similar remark is attributed to Bion the Borysthenite by Diog. Laert. 4.50—and the words given to Boudicca by Dio Cass. 62.3.1, ἐγνώκατε δὲ ὅσῳ καὶ πενία ἀδέσποτος πλούτου δουλεύοντος προφέρει.

Epp. Apoll. 16

Apollonius's detractors portrayed him as nothing more than a practitioner of that base and disreputable kind of magic called γοητεία. That is how he appeared to Lucian, who condemned the quackery passed down from Apollonius to Alexander of Abonotei-

chus's Tyanean teacher and from the latter to Alexander himself. Lucian's description of Alexander's teacher would also apply, in Lucian's judgment, to Apollonius himself: γόης τῶν μαγείας καὶ ἐπῳδὰς θεσπεσίους ὑπισχνουμένων καὶ χάριτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς καὶ ἐπαγωγὰς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ θησαυρῶν ἀναπομπὰς καὶ κλήρων διαδοχάς (*Alex.* 5). The pre-Philostratean biographer of Apollonius, Moeragenes, agreed with Lucian: see Origen, *Contra Cels.* 6.41: Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως μάγου καὶ φιλοσόφου . . . τῆς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγείας . . . ὡς πρὸς γόητα [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] . . . . Dio Cass. 77.18, too (contrast 67.18)—or at least his epitomator—calls Apollonius a γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβής; here Dio's hostility to Caracalla, who built a shrine in Apollonius's honor (cf. Philostr., *VA* 8.31), may be influencing his portrayal of Apollonius.

Philostratus condemned γοητεία (esp. *VA* 7.39; cf. *VS* 523, 590) and defended Apollonius from the charge. Apollonius's preternatural acts, such as his forecasting the future or his miraculous unfettering of his leg while in prison, were due, according to Philostratus, to his godly nature and spiritual refinement, not to γοητεία. Unlike the γόητες, Apollonius did not attempt to alter the course of events. He did not shun temples. He did not seek the aid of the gods of the underworld. (See *VA* 1.2, 5.12, 7.38-39, 8.7.2, 8.7.9 [pp. 304-305, 313-15 Kayser, ed. min.]; cf. 7.17, 7.34). Philostratus does not object to wonderworking in Apollonius; indeed, there are many examples of it in the *VA*. But it must result from a high level of spirituality and not be goetic. For further discussion of Philostratus's handling of the charge of γοητεία/μαγεία, see Baur 41-45; Meyer 391-99; Solmsen 141-43.

In *Epp. Apoll.* 16 and 17 the unambiguous term γόης is naturally avoided in favor of μάγος. A magus was a Persian priest and wise man. Among the Greeks the term came to be used in a derogatory sense as a synonym for γόης: Gorgias B 11 (10) Diels-Kranz, γοητείας δὲ καὶ μαγείας; Aeschin. 3.137, μάγος καὶ γόης; Dio Chrys. 36.41, τοῖς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ θεοῦ ξυνιέναι δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι μάγους ἐκάλεσαν, ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνες ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν ἀνθρώπους γόητας; Dio Cass. 77.18 and Origen, *Contra Cels.* 6.41, both quoted above; Herodian 4.12.3-4; A. Abt, "Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 4:2 (1908) 106 ff. = (repr. 1967) 32 ff. In *Epp. Apoll.* 16 and 17 Apollonius accepts the designation "magus", applied to him in its derogatory sense by Euphrates, but he understands the term in its original Persian sense. He thus converts Euphrates's reproach into a compliment, a compliment that Euphrates himself does not merit (*Epp. Apoll.* 17, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος). It is only in this qualified sense that Solmsen's remark (p. 141) that *Epp. Apoll.* 16 and 17 display "eine positive Stellung zur Magie" can be accepted. Whether written by Apollonius or by some later apologist, *Epp. Apoll.* 16 and 17 not only show Apollonius answering a charge of

μαγεία/γοητεία, but also doing so cleverly. Cf. the argument of Apuleius, *Apol.* 25-27.

τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου . . . τοὺς ἀπὸ Διός: The association of Pythagoras and Orpheus (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 48.2) is not surprising; see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*² (1952) 216-21, and Burkert 125 ff. for the close relation between Pythagoreanism and Orphism. Both Pythagoras and Orpheus were sometimes depicted as μάγοι/γόητες: Timon of Phlius, frag. 57 Diels; Pliny, *HN* 30.2.7 ff.; Apul., *Apol.* 27 with Abt, "Die Apologie" 327-28 = repr. 253-54; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 32 [216]; *PW* 18:1 (1939) 1261-62; Petzke 47.

Apollonius will apply the term μάγοι even to devotees of Zeus, provided that it is understood in Apollonius's sense. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 17, μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν. Kayser and subsequent editors ousted τοὺς ἀπὸ (τοῦ) Διός for Spengel's drab τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος.

θεῖοι: θεοί could be read here (and θεούς in *Epp. Apoll.* 17) only if understood to mean ἄνθρωποι θεῖοι or ἀγαθοί. For this usage, see Philostr., *VA* 3.18, 8.5, 8.7.7 (pp. 311-12 Kayser, ed. min.); A. J. Festugière, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 130 (1945) 38 ff. = *Études de philosophie grecque* (1971) 192 ff.

Epp. Apoll. 17

ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν: Cf. Pl., *Alc. I* 122A, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο [sc., μαγεία] θεῶν θεραπεία; Dio Chrys. 36.41, μάγους . . . ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον; id. 49.7, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ᾔδεσαν [sc., οἱ μάγοι] ὡς δεῖ θεραπεύειν; Diog. Laert. 1.6, τοὺς δὲ μάγους περί τε θεραπείας θεῶν διατρίβειν.

Epp. Apoll. 18

Ἡράκλειτος . . . ἄνθρωπον: On the face of it, a reference to the much-discussed Heraclitean *logos*; cf. esp. Heraclitus la Marcovich (= B 1 Diels-Kranz), τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι κτλ. However, Apollonius could be alluding to something else, e.g., Heraclitus 101 Marcovich (= B 104 Diels-Kranz), τίς αὐτῶν νόος ἢ φρήν κτλ. My caution arises from the fact that, just before quoting Heraclitus 101 Marcovich, Proclus paraphrases it with the aid of the word ἀλόγιστον (cf. Apollonius's ἄλογον): . . . Ἡράκλειτος ἀποσκορακίζει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἄνουν καὶ ἀλόγιστον (*in Alc. I* 256, p. 117 Westerink).

Heraclitus is referred to again in *Epp. Apoll.* 27. There may also be a reminiscence of Heraclitus 83 Marcovich (= B 108 Diels-Kranz), ὅτι σοφόν ἐστι πάντων κεχωρισμένον, in the fragment of Apollonius's Περὶ θυσιῶν preserved in Euseb., *Demonstr. evang.* 3.3.11 and *Praepar. evang.* 4.13.1 (. . . θεῷ . . . ἑνί τε ὄντι καὶ κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων . . .): cf. Norden 39, n. 3; G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments* (1954) 400; M. Marcovich, *Heraclitus* (1967) 440. On one occasion, in Philostratus's judgment, Apollonius actually improved on Heraclitus: *VA* 1.9; cf. Diog. Laert. 9.3, *Epp. Heracliti* 6 Hercher.

ἐγκαλυπτέος κτλ.: There may be something Heraclitean in the writer's mind here, as explicitly in the first sentence; cf., e.g., Heraclitus 110 Marcovich (= B 95 Diels-Kranz), ἀμαθίην κρύπτειν ἄμεινον.

ὁ ματαίως . . . γενόμενος: It seems to be implied that Euphrates is one of those who should hide his face in shame because he does not recognize his ἀλογία and, in his intellectual vanity, welcomes renown. Olearius and Hercher want to understand δόξα here not as "repute," but rather as the philosophical "opinion" that is less than full knowledge: "everyone who vainly clings to mere belief"?

Epp. Apoll. 19

Σκοπελιανῷ: There is a biographical notice on this sophist in Philostr., *VS* 514-21. A native of Clazomenae, Scopelian belonged to a family of ἀρχιερεῖς of Asia. The date of his birth is unknown, but by the early 90s he was distinguished enough to be chosen to head an embassy to Domitian on behalf of the province of Asia to protest that emperor's decree (A.D. 92) regulating viticulture (*VS* 520; Jerome, *Chron.*, p. 191 Helm; Grosso 441-44). According to *VS* 521, Apollonius thought highly of Scopelian. Another letter of Apollonius to Scopelian, concerning the Cissian Eretrians whom Apollonius supposedly visited in the course of his eastern travels, is referred to and then quoted in *VA* 1.23-24: see Appendix 2.

ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν κτλ.: The division of prose styles into five types, in descending order, gives way to a more fundamental classification. Conybeare construes τῇ τάξει, wrongly I believe, with the main clause rather than with the genitive absolute.

Epp. Apoll. 20

Δομετιανῷ: In Philostratus's *VA* the only emperors with whom Apollonius has written correspondence are Vespasian, Titus, and Nerva, with all of whom he is on good terms (see my comments on *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h, 77d; Appendix 15 and 16). The Philostratean Apollonius publicly criticizes Nero and Domitian, but there is no hint in the *VA* of any correspondence with those two emperors, with the exception of an unflattering letter to Domitian to which Philostratus alludes only to reject its authenticity (Appendix 13).

Εἴ σοι δύναμίς ἐστιν κτλ.: Cf. Pl., *Leg.* 4.712A; id. (?), *Epp.* 2.310E.

ὥσπερ ὄψις κτλ.: Perhaps a reference to the theory of vision in Pl., *Ti.* 45B-C, according to which the fire within the eye fuses with the external fire (ὅμοιον πρὸς ὅμοιον).

Epp. Apoll. 21

An exhortation against expanding the Empire. The barbarians, Apollonius says, are unworthy of Roman rule; cf. Apollonius's praise of a king for being κρείττω ἢ βαρβάρων ἄρχειν (*VA* 1.39). For

the various possible barbarians to whom Apollonius may be referring in this letter, see, e.g., R. Syme, "Flavian Wars and Frontiers," in *CAH* XI 131 ff. If there is any criticism of Domitian's payments of money to outsiders (cf. Pliny, *Pan.* 12; Dio Cass. 67.7.4 [contrast 68.6.1-2]; note Olearius's free rendering of καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον, "nec elargiendum ipsis") or of the wisdom of his military campaigning (cf. Suet., *Dom.* 6.1), it is very subtly and politely expressed.

Epp. Apoll. 22

Λεσβώνακτι: Meyer 408, n. 1, identified Lesbonax, who is also the addressee of *Epp. Apoll.* 61, with the Mytilenean Lesbonax mentioned by Lucian, *Salt.* 69, as a pupil of the philosopher Timocrates of Heraclea. Timocrates, converted to philosophy by the Stoic Euphrates, was also a teacher of the sophist Antonius Polemo and of the Cynic Demonax (Lucian, *Demon.* 3; Philostr., *VS* 536; *PW* 12:2 [1925] s.v. "Lesbonax 3"). Polemo was born ca. A.D. 88 (*PW* 21:2 [1952] 1321-22). Even if the Mytilenean Lesbonax was somewhat older than Polemo, he seems an unlikely recipient of a letter from Apollonius, who, if we believe Philostratus, died during the principate of Nerva. Meyer 403-405, 407-408, rejected Philostratus's chronology, imagining Apollonius to have lived on well into the second century; it was this thesis (refuted by Grosso 356-60; cf. F. LoCascio, *La forma letteraria della Vita di Apollonio Tianeo*, Quad. Istit. Filol. Gr. Univ. Palermo 6 [1974] 35, n. 28) that prompted him to identify this letter's addressee with the Mytilenean mentioned by Lucian. The addressee might be the probably first century grammarian Lesbonax (*PW* 12:2 [1925] s.v. "Lesbonax 2"), but note that neither *Epp. Apoll.* 22 nor 61 reveals anything about the addressee's profession.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι κτλ.: ὡς ἄνδρα, "like a real man," "bravely"; cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἀνήρ IV. ὡς ἄνθρωπον seems virtually equivalent to φιλανθρώπως, though I cannot locate an exact parallel. Olearius translates "ut humanae sortis memorem." The point is, of course, that a man should use his wealth for the benefit of his fellow men; cf. the end of *Epp. Apoll.* 4 and my comment. Conybeare's translation—"You should try to be poor as an individual, but to be rich as a member of humanity"—completely misses the point.

Epp. Apoll. 23

Crito has been identified with T. Statilius Crito, Trajan's court physician: Jessen 34, Cichorius in Norden 342, Wilamowitz 307. Ulpia Heraclea in Caria was his native city. His reputation as a physician is alluded to by Mart. 11.60.6. For further details, see *PW* 11:2 (1922) 1935-38; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969) 65. Appropriately, Apollonius writes to Crito about the relative importance of physical and spiritual well-being.

For the importance of medicine to Pythagoras and in the Pythagorean tradition, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 52 and Burkert, index s.v. "medicine." For the commonplace on the relative importance of body and soul, cf., e.g., Democritus B 187 Diels-Kranz; Pl., *Chrm.* 156E, *Resp.* 3.403D; Dio Chrys. 77(78).45.

Epp. Apoll. 24

In this letter Apollonius turns down an invitation from the Hellanodikai (the managers of the Olympic Games) and the Eleans to attend the Games. In Philostratus's *VA* Apollonius not only accepts an invitation to attend the Games of Olympiad 210 in A.D. 61, but even expresses surprise that the Eleans thought that he needed a special invitation: see Appendix 6. (The date A.D. 61 is given in *VA* 4.24 as seven years before Nero's planned Isthmian canal of 67/68; see *CAH* X 736). Although Philostratus does not say that the remark in Appendix 6 is from a letter, it may well be (or purport to be) the written reply that Apollonius gave to the Elean envoys who delivered the invitation to him somewhere in Greece. The Philostratean Apollonius does attend the Games of A.D. 61 and takes advantage of the occasion to preach on various ethical topics (*VA* 4.27-31; cf. *VA* 8.15-19, where Apollonius preaches at Olympia just after [?] the Games of Olympiad 218 in A.D. 93 [Grosso 464]). If, then, *Epp. Apoll.* 24 refers to the same Games as *VA* 4.24 (Appendix 6), we are faced with contradictory notices. At *VA* 1.2 Philostratus mentions the Eleans among various recipients of letters from Apollonius.

For τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα and other athletic metaphors applied to philosophical and ethical striving (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 28), see E. Norden, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 18 (1891) 300-303; V. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif* (1967), where the Hellenistic origins of the motif are discussed. Cf. esp. Dio Chrys. 8.15, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ γενναῖος ἡγεῖται τοὺς πόνους ἀνταγωνιστὰς μεγίστους καὶ τούτοις ἀεὶ φιλεῖ μάχεσθαι . . . οὐχ ὑπὲρ σελίνου . . . οὐδὲ κοτίνου καὶ πίτυος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀρετῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, οὐχ ὅταν Ἠλεῖοι προείπωσιν ἢ Κορίνθιοι ἢ τὸ κοινὸν Θετταλῶν (cf. Dio Chrys. 9.11 ff.).

Epp. Apoll. 25

The Olympic Games are symbolic of Panhellenic (here Pan-Peloponnesian) cooperation. But Apollonius tells the Peloponnesians that they still have a long way to go before their inter-city relations can be called friendly.

Epp. Apoll. 26

θεηκόροις: θεηκόρος is given in *LSJ* as an equivalent of θεηκόλος, *Epp. Apoll.* 26 being the only attestation. Cf. θεοκόρος, admitted into *LSJ Suppl.* from Hesychius, s.v. σιοκόρος. But Kayser's suggestion that θεηκόροις should be emended to θεηκόλοις may be right. θεηκόροις here could easily be explained as a conflation of θεηκόλοις and the variant νεωκόροις.

In both this letter and the next Apollonius instructs priests (cf. Philostr., *VA* 1.10, 1.16, 4.24, 4.40, 5.25) on the subject of religious sacrifice. According to Philostratus, Apollonius, like his spiritual model Pythagoras, condemned blood sacrifice but had no objection to καθαρὰ θύματα such as frankincense and honey cakes. (See *VA* 1.1, 1.31-32, 4.11, 5.25, 6.11, 8.7.10, 8.7.12 [pp. 315-16, 320 Kayser, ed. min.]. On Pythagorean sacrificial practices, see *PW* 24 [1963] 193, Burkert 180-83.) In *Epp. Apoll.* 27, too, Apollonius condemns only blood sacrifice. *Epp. Apoll.* 26 does not seem reconcilable with *Epp. Apoll.* 27 and the *VA*: in *Epp. Apoll.* 26 *all* sacrifice is rejected, and men are rather urged to acquire φρόνησις (moral wisdom, i.e., virtue; cf. *SVF* IV, s.v. φρόνησις) and to do good to one another. Similarly, in the fragment of Apollonius's Περὶ θυσιῶν preserved by Eusebius (*Praepar. evang.* 4.13.1 = (with a few variations) *Demonstr. evang.* 3.3.11; see Norden 343 ff.) all forms of sacrifice are rejected, and men are urged to worship God only through their λόγος or νοῦς. But in this fragment it is sacrifice to the one God that is at issue: θεῷ μέν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἑνί τε ὄντι καὶ κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων, μεθ' ὃν γνωρίζεσθαι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναγκαῖον. If the Περὶ θυσιῶν were extant, we might have found that in it Apollonius allowed bloodless sacrifice to the λοιποὶ θεοί. But in *Epp. Apoll.* 26 it is the multiple gods, not exclusively the one God, who can do without sacrifice. Cf. Meyer 388; Petzke 36-37, 209-10.

Epp. Apoll. 27

See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 26.

Αἵματι . . . μιαίνουσιν: Probably a deliberate echo of αἵματι μιαινόμενοι in Heraclitus 86a Marcovich (see under the next lemma).

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ . . . καθαίρεσθαι: Cf. Heraclitus 86a Marcovich (= B 5 Diels-Kranz), καθαίρονται δ' ἄλλως αἵματι μιαινόμενοι, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβὰς πηλῷ ἀπονίζοιτο. Apollonius's wording, πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι, parallels the wording of Gregory of Nazianzus's allusion to this fragment in *Orat.* 25.15 (*PG* 35.1220A), πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαιρόντων. Among all the quotations of and allusions to frag. 86a assembled by M. Marcovich, *Heraclitus* (1967) 455-58, only *Epp. Apoll.* 27 specifies Heraclitus's fellow Ephesians as the target of his dictum. Heraclitus is also invoked in *Epp. Apoll.* 18.

Epp. Apoll. 28

Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν: It was asserted by some (Philostr., *VA* 1.13) that after an unhappy love affair Apollonius went away to Scythia and stayed there for a year. Philostratus regards the whole story as slanderous: . . . συκοφαντοῦσί τινες . . . οὔτε ἐφοίτησέ ποτε ἐς Σκύθας οὔτε ἐς ἐρωτικά πάθη ἀπηνέχθη. Philostratus may be referring here to the alleged love affair between Apollonius and Alexander Peloplaton's mother, which he reports and discredits at *VS* 570. Note Apollonius's denial of ever having been among the Massagetae or

the Scythian Tauri in his speech of self-defense (*VA* 8.7.10 [p. 315 Kayser, ed. min.]), surely written by Philostratus himself (Solmsen 142; Grosso 484, n. 125).

The Philostratean Apollonius is a celibate. In rejecting even marital sex he proved himself more rigorous than Pythagoras; and he outdid Sophocles by learning the value of abstention from sex early in life, without needing years of experience and experiment (*VA* 1.13; cf. 6.42, 8.7.6 [p. 309 Kayser, ed. min.]). The *VA* is blatantly apologetic; hence no objective appraisal of sources and traditions should be assumed to underlie Philostratus's forceful rejection of the love affair(s) of *VA* 1.13 and *VS* 570. If an unfortunate love affair was commonly alleged to be the reason behind a Scythian sojourn, then Philostratus may have felt compelled to reject both elements of the story together, the love affair and the stay in Scythia. A more subtle alternative might not have occurred to the apologist: to reject only the love affair, not the stay in Scythia.

A stay in Scythia, a place where, according to Philostratus, philosophers took refuge during the perilous times of Domitian (*VA* 7.4)—or if *Epp. Apoll.* 28 is not genuine, at least the fabricator's belief that Apollonius sojourned there—would make an appropriate background for a letter to a Scythian king.

Ζάμολξις κτλ.: The Thracian deity Zamolxis (Zalmoxis) was said to have been Pythagoras's slave as well as his pupil (Hdt. 4.95-96; Strab. 7.297-98; Diog. Laert. 8.2; Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 14-15; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 30 [173]). I would therefore explain the thematic unity of this letter as follows: Freedom is moral or spiritual (ἐλεύθερος = φιλόσοφος). It is not social or legal: Zamolxis was free (φιλόσοφος) even though he was a slave. It is not political: Zamolxis would not have felt his freedom to be threatened by the Romans or by an alliance with them. For the philosopher as a free man, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 43. One thinks, of course, of the Stoic paradox, ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος: Cic., *Parad. Stoic.* 33-41; Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 4.1; Diog. Laert. 7.121.

Zamolxis is an appropriate object lesson for a Scythian king. The Scythians are northern barbarians, like the Thracians of old. We should even allow the possibility that Apollonius considered Zamolxis a Scythian, as do Celsus's Jew in Origen, *Contra Cels.* 2.55 (but not Celsus in Origen, ibid. 3.34) and Lucian in *Scyth.* 1 and 4 (but not in *Ver. Hist.* 2.17 and *Jupp. trag.* 42). Two Byzantine dictionaries, Photius's *Lexicon* and the *Suda* (s.v. Ζάμολξις), call Zamolxis both a Scythian and a Thracian/Getan.

καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον . . . ἐγένετο φίλος: It is tempting to see in these words an allusion to the Dacian problem under Domitian (cf. Wilamowitz 312). Old Thrace and Dacia are easily associable because of their location in the same geographical area. And a Greek could use the same name, Getae, to designate both Zamolxis's people and the Dacians: *PW* 4 (1901) 1951; A. D. Nock, *CR* 40 (1926) 185, col. 2,

and add to his examples Diod. Sic. 1.94.2, Origen, *Contra Cels.* 3.34, and the above-cited passages from Iambl. and the Byzantine dictionaries; *CAH* XI 79. Dio Chrys. 12.20 refers to the Dacians ἀγωνιζομένους ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.

ἀγῶνα . . . ἔχειν: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 24, τὸν μείζονα . . . ἀγῶνα.

Epp. Apoll. 29

It is hard to image who would have been addressed literally as a νομοθέτης in the first century. Perhaps no specific individual is alluded to; the literary conceit, whether Apollonius's or a later inventor's, may owe something to the tradition that Pythagoras, Apollonius's philosophical model, trained many famous lawgivers: Diog. Laert. 8.16; Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 21; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 7 [33], 27 [130], 30 [172]; E. Gabba in *Les Origines de la République Romaine*, Fondation Hardt Entretiens XIII (1966) 157-58; and note the mention of νομοθετική in *Epp. Apoll.* 52.

For the thought cf. Diog. Laert. 8.9, πλησμονὴν πᾶσαν ἀποδοκιμάζει [sc., Πυθαγόρας], λέγων μὴ παραβαίνειν μήτε τῶν ποτῶν μήτε τῶν σιτίων μηδένα τὴν συμμετρίαν. Dio Chrys. 9.1 mentions gluttony (ἵνα ἐμπλησθῶσιν) as a common motive for attending festivals. By νόσων Apollonius doubtless means moral as well as physical diseases.

Epp. Apoll. 30

Ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων: Ῥωμαίων (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 54, διοικηταῖς Ῥωμαίων) demands that ταμίαις be translated "quaestors"; see, in addition to the standard lexica, Mason s.v. The reference in this letter to "cities" shows that provincial quaestors in senatorial provinces are meant. One should not overstress "das Missvergnügen an der römischen Herrschaft" (H. Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* [1938] 57) in this and other letters to Roman officials. Roman officials are hardly unique or special objects of Apollonius's moral indignation.

ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρῶτον: In anticipation of the point made in the last sentence: μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄρχειν. This seems better than reading πρώτην (<τὴν> πρώτην ?), which would have to be understood not as the "highest" (thus Olearius, Hercher, Conybeare), but as the "first" office, the quaestorship being the first magistracy that admitted one to the senate.

Epp. Apoll. 31

The term διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας might refer to the Roman procurators of the province of Asia; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 54. But the possibility that the term refers to other officials, imperial or local, or to officials in general, cannot be excluded. Apollonius is charging that the officials are merely treating symptoms and not getting to the roots of political problems.

Epp. Apoll. 32

Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν: On these officials, see *PW* Suppl. 12 (1970) 271 ff.; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), index s.v. *grammateus*.

Λίθων κτλ.: For λίθων . . . ποικίλων (but note the variant), cf., e.g., Hdt. 2.127, λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου; Dio Chrys. 79.2, λίθων εὐχρόων καὶ ποικίλων; Ath. 5.207F, λουτῆρα . . . ποικίλον τοῦ Ταυρομενίτου λίθου. For the sense of περί in this letter, see *LSJ* s.v. A, III.

Epp. Apoll. 33

The Milesians are also taken to task in *Epp. Apoll.* 68.

προγόνων κτλ.: Perhaps, as Jessen 35 suggests, Apollonius has in mind the proverbial πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι (Anacreon, frag. 81 Page, with testimonia, in *Poet. Mel. Gr.*).

Epp. Apoll. 34

Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 10, where Apollonius gives a different reason for abandoning public discourse. His point in *Epp. Apoll.* 34 is that the Greek audiences were unreceptive to his preaching; cf. Dio Chrys. 32.8, who mentions philosophers who do not appear in public, ἀπεγνωκότες ἴσως τὸ βελτίους ἂν ποιῆσαι τοὺς πολλούς. Appropriately, Apollonius registers his complaint about the "barbarism" of the Greeks with the cultural authorities of the Alexandrian Museum.

ἐβαρβαρώθην κτλ.: An allusion to Euripides, *Orestes* 485, βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις (ἐν βαρβάροις] γρ. ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος Euripidis codd. MV^2C).

Epp. Apoll. 35

Hestiaeus is Apollonius's brother. For the charge that Apollonius was traveling in pursuit of financial gain, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 45. Two remarks in Philostratus's *VA* might have been intended as tacit refutations of such a charge: *VA* 1.18, προσήκειν φήσας [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] νέῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδημεῖν τε καὶ ὑπερορίῳ αἱρεσθαι, and esp. *VA* 3.33, καὶ ἄλλως πλείω χρόνον ἀποδημεῖν τοῦ εἰκότος αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους ὑπερορᾶσθαι δοκοῦντας [sc., ἔφασκεν Ἀπολλώνιος]. In the apology that Apollonius supposedly prepared for delivery before Domitian, he contends that he never coveted money (*VA* 8.7.3 [p. 306-307 Kayser, ed. min.]).

αὐτόθι: In Tyana.

καὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον ἀποδημεῖν κτλ.: Though I do not accept Olearius's emendation, he did see that there is a corruption in this sentence somewhere after δοκεῖν. Subsequent editors printed and translated the transmitted nonsense. My text requires that τὸ ἀποδημεῖν be understood as the object of ἀσπασαμένων, unless something like ἀποδημίαν δι', instead of only δι', has fallen out before ἀρετήν. Since

traveling arouses suspicion, some men avoid it, even when it would advance their virtue, so that they will be esteemed in their native cities; if travel for a noble cause can be suspect, then travel for a base cause will seem especially shameful.

Epp. Apoll. 36

Epp. Apoll. 36 and 37 should be read in conjunction with *Epp. Apoll.* 60, 74, and 77. The Bassus of these letters was a Corinthian of a well-to-do family (74) who called himself a philosopher and at some time served as agonothete of the Isthmian Games. Bassus was once on good terms, at least superficially, with Apollonius (36 *ad fin.*), but later tried to murder him in Corinth (60) through a henchman, Praxiteles of Chalcis. Euphrates was involved in this plot (60). Bassus is further accused of giving away his wife's favors, of poisoning his father, and of being a spendthrift and homosexual (74). Note the close correspondence between the opening of *Epp. Apoll.* 36 and 60.

Bassus is mentioned only once by Philostratus, at *VA* 4.26. He is called a Corinthian, and reference is made to his philosophical pretensions (σοφίαν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κατεψεύδετο). Philostratus lays special emphasis on the truth of Apollonius's charge that Bassus was a parricide: Apollonius never resorted to slander (ἐς λοιδορίαν), though Bassus did revile (λοιδορούμενον) Apollonius until he was restrained by Apollonius's letters and speeches (οἷς τε ἐπέστειλεν οἷς τε διελέχθη κατ' αὐτοῦ). Philostratus does not mention Praxiteles, the attempted assassination, or Euphrates's involvement; he only alludes vaguely to a dispute (διηνέχθη) between Bassus and Apollonius in Corinth in the year 61 (*VA* 4.24 for the date, given as seven years before Nero's planned Isthmian canal of 67/68; see *CAH* X 736). If Philostratus knew more details, he has chosen deliberately to pass over them.

Wilamowitz 309 proposed to identify Bassus with the ἀρχιερεύς Lucanius who appears in Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 5.3 [675D ff.], thus creating a "Lucanius Bassus." Plutarch's Lucanius is giving a dinner at Corinth during the Isthmian Games; one of the guests is a περιηγητής named Praxiteles. Grosso 427n rightly rejects Wilamowitz's hypothesis.

Note the formal similarity between *Epp. Apoll.* 36 and 37: In both letters Bassus's homicidal designs are rather dispassionately recounted and Apollonius's indignation is reserved for the final sentence (καί, μιαρὲ Βάσσε . . . ; καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς . . .).

Epp. Apoll. 38

A visit of Apollonius to Sardis is mentioned in passing at Philostr., *VA* 6.37, but nothing is said there about the problem of *stasis* that is the subject of eight letters of the separately transmitted collection (38-41, 56, 75, 75a, 76). The troubles at Sardis that occurred sometime before Plutarch wrote *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* (after

96 and before 114) may be at least related to those mentioned by Apollonius in the letters: Plut., *Praec. ger. reip.* 813F, 825D; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (1971) 117, 136. For Apollonius on *stasis*, cf. *VA* 4.8-9, 6.38.

Τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν: This periphrasis (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 75) probably originated from the body of the letter: τίνες . . . περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. *Epp. Apoll.* 56 preserves the standard Σαρδιανοῖς, which cod. F also gives as the heading of *Epp. Apoll.* 39.

ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαι κτλ.: Cf. the ending of *Epp. Apoll.* 74.

Epp. Apoll. 39

τῶν ταγμάτων: The expression also occurs in *Epp. Apoll.* 40 and 41. In calling this use of τάγματα an "Uebertreibung" for φρατρίαι or "Klubs," Wilamowitz 311 seems to have been hinting that the word is being used here as a military metaphor. (For its common military applications, see, in addition to the standard lexica, Mason s.v.) Such a metaphorical sense would be appropriate (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 75, πόλεμον . . . ἤρασθε), but it need not be assumed here. (Lampe s.v. shows that τάγμα was commonly applied to non-elite as well as elite civilian groups; *LSJ* s.v. IV might falsely suggest that the word's application was restricted to the latter).

Κόδδαροι, Ξυρησίταυροι: These curious names recur in *Epp. Apoll.* 40. A Lydian etymology was once proposed: W. H. Buckler, *Lydian Inscriptions*, Sardis: Publications of the Am. Soc. for the Excavation of Sardis 6:2 (1924) 86, n. 2. But Wilamowitz 310-11 showed that Ξυρησίταυροι, his correction of the vulgate Ξυρισίταυροι, is Greek. ξύρησις means "shaving"; ταῦρος can refer to the male or female genitals—though here perhaps only to the male genitals (see below)—, the perineum, or the hindquarters: J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1975) 127, 133, 202-203; Poll. 2.173; Gal. 14.706 Kühn. Thus the name Ξυρησίταυροι refers to "das Entfernen der Haare zwischen den Schenkeln"; for the practice, see, e.g., Dio Chrys. 33.63.

But Κόδδαροι is a puzzle. Wilamowitz's attempt to connect it with κήδαλον, Κηδαλίων must be rejected on phonological grounds. Wilamowitz's second suggestion, that Κόδδαροι may be related to the Asianic name Κώδαλος, is phonologically less objectionable. If Κόδδαρ- is a corrupt variant of Κώδαλ-, it might have the sense "gluttons." (Note Ps.-Diogenianus 5.69 in *Corp. paroem. graec.* I 264, Κωδάλου χοῖνιξ· ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλοις μέτροις κεχρημένων. For a discussion of the name Κώδαλος and the proverb, which is also found in Hesychius and the *Suda*, see O. Masson, *REG* 62 [1949] 306 ff.). But it may be that we should be looking for an obscene sense in Κόδδαροι, as in Ξυρησίταυροι. Indeed, Apollonius's remark in *Epp. Apoll.* 40 that the two names are inappropriate for women might suggest that both refer to the male anatomy. I have recently con-

jectured that the word κῳδάριον had an anatomical sense, viz., "foreskin" (*Mnemosyne* 26 [1973] 337-41; but see ibid. 27 [1974] 293-97). If that conjecture is correct, κῳδάριον and its conjectured sense could be the key to the puzzling Κόδδαροι.

ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις . . . ἄξια: τὰ πρῶτα could mean "the first prize" (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 38) rather than "the first names": They give the names to their children as a first prize and consider themselves fortunate that their children deserve such a prize. For ἄξια instead of ἄξιοι, the reading of the previous editions, cf. Wilamowitz 310, n. 3.

Epp. Apoll. 41

τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων must be factions other than the Κόδδαροι and Ξυρησίταυροι. ἀπὸ γένους in this letter surely means only "descendants" (Plut., *Them.* 32; *Publicola* 23), not "nobles" (Plut., *Rom.* 21). This letter, in which Apollonius excuses the slaves' sense of alienation, may be intended as implicit criticism of the free Sardians for setting a bad example. If the slaves engage in factionalism and let blood ties justify their disaffection towards the larger community, they are not doing anything that the free Sardians do not do.

Epp. Apoll. 42

On fee-taking, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 2 and 51.

Epp. Apoll. 42a

A shorter version (see app. crit.) of this letter to the Spartan ephors is quoted in Philostr., *VA* 4.27. Apollonius supposedly sent it from Olympia after learning that his earlier letter of censure, *Epp. Apoll.* 63, had stimulated a moral reform at Sparta. Philostratus comments on its appropriate brevity: βραχυτέραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς σκυτάλης. With the letter's Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τὸ διορθοῦσθαι, cf. Philostratus's μαθὼν δὲ [sc., 'Απολλώνιος] αὐτοὺς τὰ οἴκοι διορθουμένους, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν . . . .

If the text of the opening words of *Epp. Apoll.* 42a is sound, ἀνδρῶν must mean "real men" or "ideal men." But perhaps delete μὴ before ἁμαρτάνειν and understand ἀνδρῶν to mean "mere men," inferior to γενναίων, who in turn are inferior to the Lacedaemonians. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 89.

Epp. Apoll. 42b-e

These four letters are quoted in full in Philostr., *VA* 4.46. Philostratus claims to know more correspondence of Apollonius and the Stoic philosopher C. Musonius Rufus; but he gives only the four key letters (τὰς ἀναγκαίας), judging the rest unimportant (οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων). The correspondence was supposedly carried on in Rome during Nero's reign through the agency of two of Apollonius's followers, Menippus and Damis, while Musonius was in prison (cf.

VA 4.35). This and other material (*VA* 5.19; cf. 7.16) on Musonius in Philostratus is probably nothing more than legend: C. E. Lutz, *YClS* 10 (1947) 20-23; A.C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (1963) 5-6.

For Theseus's deliverance from Hades, mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 42b, see *PW* Suppl. 13 (1973) 1177 ff. On the juxtaposition of the names of Musonius and Socrates in *Epp. Apoll.* 42d-e and elsewhere, see Lutz, *YClS* 10 (1947) 3-4. Cf. the references to Socrates and his accusers in Philostratus's account of Apollonius's own trial at *VA* 7.13, 8.2, 8.7.1 (p. 302 Kayser, ed. min.).

Epp. Apoll. 42f-h

These three letters to Vespasian are quoted in full in Philostr., *VA* 5.41. Early in his reign (*CAH* XI 14-15; Grosso 409-14; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* [1971] 18, n. 30) Vespasian revoked the free status that had been conferred on Greece by Nero. He alleged that the Greeks had forgotten how to be free, that is, that they were unable to govern themselves (Paus. 7.17.4; cf. Philostr., *loc. cit.*). The Greeks were naturally flattered by Nero's gesture. In Plutarch's *De sera numinis vindicta* 567F-568A, Nero's criminality is not denied, but he is portrayed as a criminal who deserves a measure of leniency for having freed a people so noble and beloved of the gods (cf. Paus. 7.17.3). Philostratus calls Nero's decree uncharacteristically wise. Apollonius was so incensed, according to his biographer, by Vespasian's revocation that, despite his approval of the emperor and of his subsequent acts, he refused ever to visit him again, although Vespasian frequently invited him (note esp. *Epp. Apoll.* 42g). *Epp. Apoll.* 42f is especially severe: Vespasian is worse than Xerxes, the would-be enslaver of Greece. Despite the sure spuriousness of *Epp. Apoll.* 42f-h, they do convey the sense of indignation that doubtless was felt by Greeks, at least in certain circles, when they pondered Vespasian's revocation of Greece's free status.

In *Epp. Apoll.* 42h I give the first participle (παίζων) an adversative sense: Even though Nero's whole journey to Greece, during which he freed the country, was farcical (*CAH* X 735-37; note Philostr., *VA* 5.7), he at least made a liberal gesture. For ἐδουλώσω in 42h instead of the manuscripts' ἐδούλωσας, cf. 42f ἐδουλώσω and 42g δουλοῦσθαι.

Epp. Apoll. 43

Τοῖς οἰη<σι>σόφοις: A μειράκιον δοκησίσοφον is rebuked by Apollonius in Philostr., *VA* 4.30.

μένειν . . . σάρκας: For these practices, cf. my comments on *Epp. Apoll.* 8.1, λουτρὸν ἅπαν . . . τοὺς πόδας, and ἐσθῆτα . . . καθαρώτατα, and 8.2, σαρκῶν . . . πάντων.

τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων . . . γένους: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 28.

ἢ φυλακτέος κτλ.: ψευδῶν is "untrue" in the sense "not really his own." Hercher takes πίστιν as a second object of φέρων rather than in apposition to πλάσματα τρόπου κτλ. and makes λόγων ψευδῶν dependent on ἀλλοτρίου: "aut cavendus est ut qui morum atque ingenii commenta prae se ferat et a doctrina falsa alienae vitae fidem."

Epp. Apoll. 44

In this letter Apollonius is answering a charge that in some way he has been disloyal to his city and family. He introduces an argument that has been or could be used against him, namely that a philosophical belief in the unity and brotherhood of all men weakens ties to city and family (καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ἡμᾶς κτλ.), only to refute it (ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ πως κτλ.). Nature binds men to home and family and the philosopher (σοφόν) is no exception to this rule. The philosopher may claim the whole world as his country (γῆ πᾶσα), but he must return to his city to see the tombs of his forebears. Apollonius's love of his native city is hinted at by Philostratus in the remark that Apollonius took great pleasure in being called "the Tyanean" (*VA* 7.38).

Though the heading of *Epp. Apoll.* 44 (cf. that of 45) mentions only one brother, in the body of the letter more than one are addressed. For the number of Apollonius's brothers, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 55.2, τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ . . . οὐδὲ εἷς.

(1) **ἰσόθεον . . . θεόν**: For Apollonius as a god or godlike, see *VA* 1.5, 1.19 *ad fin.*, 3.50, 4.44 *ad fin.*, 5.24, 7.21, 8.5 (cf. 3.18). The term θεῖος is applied to him at *VA* 1.2, 2.17, 2.40, 3.28, 7.31, 7.38, 8.15 (cf. 8.13 θεσπέσιον). For Apollonius δαίμων, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 50, ἐν γένει . . . Πυθαγόρας ἦν. See also Baur 93-100, Petzke 187-94 ("Die Beurteilung der Person").

(1) **ἡ πατρὶς . . . εἶναι**: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 8.2 *sub fine* and 47.

(2) **ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ**: Cf Aratus, *Phaen.* 5, τοῦ [sc., Διὸς] γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν, quoted in *Act. Apost.* 17.28; Cleanthes, *Hymn. in Iov.* 4, ἐκ σοῦ [sc., Διὸς] γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, and see R. Renehan, *HSPh* 68 (1964) 384-85, for a defense of the reading γένος ἐσμέν; Dio Chrys. 30.26, ἡμᾶς . . . ξυγγενεῖς ὄντας αὐτῶν [sc., τῶν θεῶν]· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν . . . τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γένος (cf. Dio Chrys. 74.27). But the variant γ' ἑνὸς for γένος is possible. For the one God, cf. the fragment of Apollonius's Περὶ θυσιῶν preserved in Euseb., *Praepar. evang.* 4.13.1 (cf. *Demonstr. evang.* 3.3.11): θεῷ μέν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἑνί τε ὄντι καὶ κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων, μεθ' ὃν γνωρίζεσθαι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναγκαῖον. The parallelism ἑνὸς . . . μιᾶς is attractive, but it should not be allowed to decide the case.

(2) **κοινωνίας . . . τῆς αὐτῆς**: I doubt that good sense can be got from the transmitted text. Kayser's λόγου (κοινωνία λόγου καὶ παθῶν) may well be the first step towards a conjectural remedy.

(2) **οὕτως ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς . . . προὐτίμησεν**: See, e.g., *Odyssey* 5.203 ff. 7.254 ff. The goddess is Calypso.

(3) **ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος**: I follow earlier translators in taking φέροντος to mean "assailant" (i.e., fisherman). But perhaps understand τοῦ φέροντος ὕδατος, i.e., the current; cf. Hdt. 1.189, Polyb. 4.70.7.

(3) **ἕνα δὲ τούτων**: ἕνα (*per conj.*) is attracted to the gender of ἄνθρωπον, though its antecedent is θηρία (i.e., θηρίον).

Epp. Apoll. 45

χρημάτων . . . ὑπονοεῖν: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 35.

συγχωροίη . . . δαιμόνιον: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 49, καὶ ταύτῃ που καὶ θεοῦ παραινοῦντος, where the context is also travel plans.

τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ φίλοις: A stay in Rhodes is the subject of Philostr., *VA* 5.21-23; but it cannot be identified with the visit to Rhodes mentioned in this letter, because the Philostratean Apollonius goes directly from Rhodes to Alexandria without even entertaining the thought of returning to Tyana. There was a tradition that Apollonius died on Rhodes (Lindus): *VA* 8.30.

Epp. Apoll. 46

Γορδίῳ: For the occurrence of Gord-, Gordius, Gordianus in Asia Minor (Cappadocia included), see *PW* 7:2 (1912) 1590-94; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (1963) 526, n. 9, and 548-49; V. Nutton, *Latomus* 29 (1970) 726.

ἀνδρὸς: Apollonius or his brother Hestiaeus?

μὴ παραπλήσιόν σοι γενέσθαι: Olearius comments, "mutatione nempe morum, procedentibus annis, in deterius facta, tuo exemplo."

Epp. Apoll. 47

It is apparent from the second sentence that Apollonius is not being summoned to receive an honor (*pace* Petzke 43-44), but for some other reason, perhaps to answer charges (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 44, 45) or to tend to an urgent matter at home. Apollonius begins by stating his willingness to obey his city. But he does not wish to have his travels curtailed and argues that, if they are curtailed, Tyana will lose her greatest goodwill ambassador abroad. The words εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν reflect his defensive posture, as do the words ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὑτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον in *Epp. Apoll.* 48.3. For Tyana's lack of appreciation of Apollonius, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 8.2 and 44.1.

καὶ ὃν ἀπεδήμησα . . . καὶ ἀνδρῶν: Cf. Apollonius's words to the people of Smyrna in Philostr., *VA* 4.7: τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ μένειν, οὐδαμοῦ ὁρώμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἧς γεγόνασιν ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, ὅσοι περ αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται.

εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος κτλ.: My translation requires that ἄν be understood or supplied in the apodosis. Otherwise, "... only my personality and natural disposition *had* [i.e., when I was free to travel, before you summoned me] sufficient strength" etc.

Epp. Apoll. 48

Apollonius had done a favor, apparently involving an expenditure of money, for a fellow Tyanean Diotimus and will not accept anything from Diotimus in return. In commenting on the incident, Apollonius is implicitly refuting those who believe that he has lost interest in his fellow Tyaneans and only wants to get rich, charges that are mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 35, 44, and 45 and hinted at in *Epp. Apoll.* 48. Apollonius emphasizes that Diotimus is neither a relative nor a friend (πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι γεγονός); it is enough that he is a fellow Tyanean. The fact (?) that Apollonius's family was well off (Philostr., *VA* 1.4, 1.7 *sub fine*, 1.13, 8.7.3 [pp. 306-307 Kayser, ed. min.]) gives plausibility to his representation in *Epp. Apoll.* 48 as a benefactor of Tyaneans; even if he gave up most (*VA* 1.13) or all (*VA* 8.7.3) of his patrimony, he could have continued to help Tyaneans by appealing to prosperous relatives or friends on their behalf.

(1) **ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ... ἀναλώματος**: The text is very problematic. For παθὼν εὖ, cf. εὖ παθόντων below in the letter.

(2) **μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνῃς ... σου παίδων**: Apollonius's slave at first accepted a gratuity from Diotimus. By the time he decided to return it, Diotimus had left Tyana (?); so the slave troubled Lysias, since he did not know the slaves whom Diotimus left behind. This Lysias is apparently not identical with the Lysias mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 77. Kayser's addition of οἰκέτης after ἐμός was unnecessary: see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunde* (1925-31), s.v. ἐμός (1). For ἐπίσταμαι with the meaning "to know a person," see *LSJ* s.v. II, 3 and add Plut., *Cic.* 44 to the examples given there. I doubt that the sense is that Apollonius's slave did not know *of* any of the slaves whom Diotimus left behind.

(2) **δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ**: I.e., a true account and a false account. Cf. below in the letter, τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ... τὸν ἐναντίον [sc., λόγον].

(2) **ὅπου γε <μὴ> τὰ ὅμοια**: Note the ellipsis before ὅπου, which I have supplied in my translation. I incline to accept Hamaker's <μή> though sense can be obtained from the transmitted text, which Olearius translates "quandoquidem simile quid de ipso Deo etiam [dicentibus contigit]."

(3) **περὶ ἐμοῦ ... θείου ἀνδρός**: Perhaps an allusion to oracular responses; cf. *VA* 4.1. It is unlikely that by θεοῖς here Apollonius means the Indian Brahmans (*pace* Olearius; see *VA* 3.18). For Apollonius described as θεῖος, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 44.1, ἰσόθεον ... θεόν.

(3) **ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν**: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 47, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν.

Epp. Apoll. 49

Φερωκιανῷ: A relative or friend of Apollonius in Tyana. Cichorius in Norden 342 corrects the spelling of the name on the basis of *CIL* V 741.

καὶ ταύτῃ . . . παραινοῦντος: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 45, συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τὸ δαιμόνιον, where the context is also travel plans.

Epp. Apoll. 50

Ἐν γένει . . . Πυθαγόρας ἦν: For Pythagoras as δαίμων, a being intermediate between god and man, cf. esp. Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 6 [30], Aristotle in Iambl., ibid. 6 [31], and the discussion by M. Detienne, *La notion de daimon dans le pythagorisme ancien* (1963) 93-94, 132-36. The term δαίμων and its cognates are applied to Apollonius himself in Philostr., *VA* 1.2, 1.19, 3.43, 4.44, 5.12, 6.3, 8.8. Thus καὶ . . . Πυθαγόρας can be understood to mean "as well as myself, Pythagoras."

ἢ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ἐκεῖνον . . . διετέλεις μισῶν: Cf. Euphrates's vilification of Pythagoreanism at *VA* 5.37: τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν [sc., φιλοσοφίαν] παραιτοῦ, καταψευδόμενοι γὰρ τοῦ θείου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόητα ἡμᾶς ἐπαίρουσιν. The plural τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων is probably nothing more than a veiled allusion to Apollonius, though it may be taken literally to refer to Apollonius and his followers, for whom see Petzke 182-83.

"ἤμβροτες οὐδ' ἔτυχες" κτλ.: ἤμβροτες οὐδ' ἔτυχες are the opening words of *Iliad* 5.287. Diomedes is speaking to Pandarus. ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅρκων συγχύσει refers to the fourth book of the *Iliad*, commonly referred to as ὁρκίων σύγχυσις καὶ ἐπιπώλησις Ἀγαμέμνονος (Eust. 435.12). Apollonius apparently thinks that the quotation from *Iliad* 5, where Pandarus tries to kill Diomedes, is from *Iliad* 4.85 ff., where Pandarus tries to kill Menelaus.

Epp. Apoll. 51

Imperial gifts are also mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 5 (cf. 8.2). At *VA* 5.38 (cf. 8.7.3 [p. 306 Kayser, ed. min.]) Philostratus mentions that Euphrates petitioned Vespasian for gifts of money, but he says nothing further on the subject thereafter. Thus, if *Epp. Apoll.* 51 is referring to one specific emperor, Vespasian is the most likely candidate. Grosso 527, n. 29, suggests Domitian; but if such a tradition existed, it is hard to believe that Philostratus would have been ignorant of it and failed to report it in his account of Euphrates's cooperation with Domitian (*VA* 7.9, 8.3).

φιλοσοφίας . . . μισθόν: Cf. my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 2, ἢ σοφιστείας . . . ἐντυγχάνοντας.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον: The words καὶ παρὰ τοσούτων, which in effect take the place of καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον in codd. PrX, clearly do not belong, since what is at issue in this letter is only Euphrates's taking money from the emperor.

Epp. Apoll. 52

νομοθετικήν: *Epp. Apoll.* 29 is advice to a legislator.

ἰατρικήν: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 23.

θείαν μαντικήν: Olearius is right, I believe, in remarking that "ita vocat ut τῇ τῶν γοήτων μαντείᾳ contradistinguat." See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 16. On μαντική, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 8.1.

αὐτάρκειαν: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 84.

τὴν ἀρετήν, κτλ.: I.e., the semblance of virtue (Olearius), or no virtue at all.

Epp. Apoll. 53

Apollonius's age at his death in A.D. 97 was variously reported as 80, over 90, and over 100 years (Philostr., *VA* 8.29; note 1.14). Even the lowest of these three ages does make a letter from the emperor Claudius (*regn.* 41-54) chronologically possible. Georgius Syncellus, vol. 1, pp. 631-32, 652 Dindorf, and the *Suda*, s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος Τυανεύς, put the beginning of Apollonius's *floruit* in the principate of Claudius. But the first emperor to figure in the *VA* is Nero (4.24 ff.). Philostratus makes Apollonius declare that he lived his public life mainly under Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; prior to that he had been traveling in the East (*VA* 8.7.11 [p. 317 Kayser, ed. min.]; Grosso 365-66, 464). And, according to Philostratus's account, Apollonius's first travels in Greece occurred during the principate of Nero (*VA* 4). Therefore, as Baur 99n already observed, "[e]s lässt sich . . . dieses Schreiben [i.e., *Epp. Apoll.* 53] mit der Lebensgeschichte des Apollonius [i.e., the *VA*] in keinen passenden Zusammenhang bringen."

τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα: Cf. *VA* 8.7.7 (p. 310 Kayser, ed. min.) where, in self-defense before Domitian, Apollonius says that he has improved mankind and the cities of the Empire for the emperor's benefit.

ἠθελήσαμεν: The epistolary aorist: Kühner-Gerth 386.13, n. 6; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. 1956) no. 1942.

Epp. Apoll. 54

Previous editions had δικαιωταῖς in the heading. Wilamowitz 308 noted that "die Fürsorge für Häfen und Bauten" does not pertain to judges. The difficulty is removed by adopting the variant διοικηταῖς. διοικηταῖς Ῥωμαίων (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 30, ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων) can mean "to the Roman procurators": see, in addition to the standard lexica, Mason s.v.; for the various types of procurator, F. Millar, *Historia* 13 (1964) 180-87. It is possible, though, that some other class (or classes) of Roman officials is meant. The term διοικηταῖς occurs in the heading of *Epp. Apoll.* 31, but with the qualification Ἀσίας instead of Ῥωμαίων. For the sentiment of *Epp. Apoll.* 54, cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 32.

Epp. Apoll. 55

Epp. Apoll. 58 is also a *consolatio* on the death of a relative of the addressee.

(1) **χεῖρον . . . ἔχουσι**: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 58.6, κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

(1) **τὴν οἰκίαν . . . ποίησον**: "Make your household the same" as it was before your wife died by remarrying and thus providing it with a new mistress. Cf. the comparably veiled advice of Apollonius to Valerius upon the death of the latter's son, to "restore your loss," i.e., to beget another son (*Epp. Apoll.* 58.7).

(2) **σεμνή . . . φίλανδρος**: On these two words, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 35-36, 227-28. Cf. φίλανδρον at *Epp. Apoll.* 58.7.

(2) **τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ . . . οὐδὲ εἷς**: Only in this passage are we informed of the exact size of Apollonius's family. Elsewhere in the letters Apollonius sometimes writes to one brother (*Epp. Apoll.* 35, 72, and 73), and sometimes to a plurality of brothers (*Epp. Apoll.* 44, 45 [despite the singular headings], and 95). Philostratus acknowledges a plurality of brothers at *VA* 8.7.3 (pp. 306-307 Kayser, ed. min.), though at *VA* 1.13 he seems to imply that Apollonius had only one brother. In *Epp. Apoll.* 55.2 Apollonius is urging the brother who has lost his wife to remarry to beget children. He cannot do this himself because he is a religious celibate (*VA* 1.13; cf. 6.42, 8.7.6 [p. 309 Kayser, ed. min.]). His older brother, the one alluded to anonymously at *VA* 1.13, has not yet married (οὐδὲ γάμος οὐδέπω), therefore he is obviously not the addressee of this letter who has just lost his wife. This letter is addressed to Apollonius's younger brother, who is still young enough to remarry and beget children (ἐλπὶς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας). It cannot be determined whether Hestiaeus (*Epp. Apoll.* 35, 44, and 72) is the name of the youngest or the oldest of the three brothers.

(3) **ἴσος δὲ καὶ . . . τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς**: I.e., if we leave no descendants, we shall be depriving both Tyana and mankind at large of men of high quality.

(3) **ἐγενόμην . . . εἶχον**: For the tense, cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. 1956) no. 1942.

Epp. Apoll. 56

For the story of the fall of Croesus's kingdom to the Persian king Cyrus, see the first book of Herodotus, esp. 71 ff.; for other ancient notices, not all in agreement with the Herodotean tradition, *PW* Suppl. 5 (1931) 462-65. Note esp. the language of Hdt. 1.86.2, ὁ δὲ [sc., Κῦρος] συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσον . . . ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον, and 1.86.5, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἁμμένης. The Halys was the boundary between the Lydian and Persian Empires (1.72). The god alluded to by Apollonius (τῷ θεῷ τετιμη-

μένος) is probably Apollo (1.87); other accounts of Croesus on the pyre call the king θεοφιλής (Hdt. 1.87), εὐσεβής (Diod. Sic. 9.34), θεοσεβέστατος (Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90 F 68). For Croesus as counselor to Cyrus, see Hdt. 1.88-90, 155-56, 207-208. Croesus first invaded the Persian Empire, then suffered an invasion of his own kingdom by Cyrus; in contrast, the Sardians of Apollonius's time, though neither invaders (μήτε διαβάντες) nor invaded (μήτε δεξάμενοι; see *LSJ* s.v. δέχομαι II, 2) are nonetheless at war (ἐχθροί; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 75, πόλεμον ἤρασθε), i.e., with one another. Croesus became a friend of his enemy Cyrus and, through his friendly counsel to the king, saved Sardis from being plundered and enslaved (Hdt. 1.88-89, 155-56); the Sardians, enemies of one another, are implacably at odds. Croesus is also mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 75.

μήτε τὸν Ἅλυν διαβάντες: The anaphoric article should be retained (*pace* Kayser, ed. min.) in this second mention of the Halys in this letter: see Kühner-Gerth 461.8a, 462a.

καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει κτλ.: Contrast *Epp. Apoll.* 77a.

Epp. Apoll. 57

καὶ ᾧ γίγνεται: I understand the subject of γίγνεται to be πῦρ.

Epp. Apoll. 58

Epp. Apoll. 55 is also a *consolatio* on the death of a relative of the addressee. For *Epp. Apoll.* 58's doctrine of the soul, not the traditional Pythagorean metempsychosis ascribed to the Philostratean Apollonius (*VA* 3.23-24, 5.42, 6.21, 8.7.4 [pp. 307-308 Kayser, ed. min.]), see the comments of Baur 96-97, Hempel 18-20, Petzke 44-45. For a discussion of *Epp. Apoll.* 58 as an example of *consolatio* literature, see R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur*, Zetemata 18 (1958) 38-39.

Οὐαλερίῳ: Olearius already noted that the reference at the end of this letter to the 500 cities governed by Valerius shows that he was proconsul of Asia: Joseph., *BJ* 2.16.4 [366]; Philostr., *VS* 548; cf. Ael. Aristid., *Orat.* 23.9 Keil. In a long argument in Norden 337-41, C. Cichorius identified the addressee of this letter with C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus, cos. 71 (*PIR*[1] C 184), dating his proconsulate and hence this letter between 81 and 83. Cichorius's argument has been well received: Meyer 412; Wilamowitz 307; Grosso 360; Petzke 44; W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970) 84, n. 41. (But note A. Stein's disagreement in *PIR*[2] F 92 with addendum). W. Eck, in a recent article on a new fragment of the so-called *Testamentum Dasumii* (*ZPE* 30 [1978] 292 ff.), has proposed a new identification: the Fabulla and her husband Asiaticus of the *Testamentum*, he argues, are the Fabulla (see below) and the Valerius of *Epp. Apoll.* 58, Asiaticus being Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus, procos. Asiae 108/109. But if we ac-

cept Eck's recent proposal, we shall either have to reject Philostratus's chronology of Apollonius, according to which the sage died in 97 A.D., or assume that someone other than Apollonius wrote *Epp. Apoll.* 58. In the *VA* Apollonius comes into contact with a number of Roman governors: 1.12, 1.15, 5.10 (Grosso 388, n. 45), 7.4, 8.23 (Grosso 465, n. 76). Grosso (p. 446, n. 10; p. 457, n. 53), accepting Cichorius's identification of the addressee of *Epp. Apoll.* 58, hazarded the guess that the unnamed proconsul of Asia of Philostr., *VA* 7.5 is the addressee of the letter, Valerius Festus.

(3) **καὶ τοῦτο μὲν . . . μεῖζον>**: God is less "deprived" of His character in His higher creatures, more deprived in His lower ones.

(4) **τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον**: ἐκεῖ is "in God," "in the realm of pure substance," "in the One," etc. The earth or the "realm of nature" is ἐνθάδε (58.2). Hence death is a τόπου (*pace* Olearius, τρόπου) μετάβασις (58.4).

(5) **οὐ βουλήσεται τὰ ἀγαθά**: I.e., he will not desire what man in his ignorance regards as good. Otherwise supply ἀπεύχεσθαι after βουλήσεται (thus Kayser) and understand "he will not seek to wish away what God regards as good."

(6) **ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν . . . τοῦ ὄντος**: I.e., birth, like death, is illusory.

(6) **κἀκεῖνον ἀσεβεῖς**: Because he has become part of God. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 58.4.

(6) **παραχρῆμα . . . πεποίηκας**: Because death is better than life. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 55.1.

(7) **ὁλόκληρος**: There is an important discussion of this word by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 97-103.

(7) **λαβὲ τὸ λεῖπον**: I.e., beget another son. For this sense of λαμβάνω (= ἀναλαμβάνω), cf. Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.7.5 [148], τὸ δὲ κέρας Ἀχελῷος λαμβάνει. Cf. the comparably veiled advice of Apollonius to his brother upon the death of the latter's wife, to "restore your household," i.e., to remarry (*Epp. Apoll.* 55.1).

(7) **Ῥωμαῖός τις . . . στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε**: T. Manlius Torquatus killed his own son for an act of bravery performed against orders (Livy 8.7). The story was a famous *exemplum* of *severitas*. The detail of the father's crowning his son just before killing him is also found in other Greek notices. See *PW* 14:1 (1928) 1187-88.

(7) **Φαβοῦλλαν**: Presumably Valerius's wife. There are two senators of the second half of the first century A.D. who have the cognomen Fabullus, M. Fabius Fabullus of *CIL* III 4118 and Fabius Fabullus of Tac., *Hist.* 3.14. Cichorius in Norden 341 suggested that these two Fabulli (if they are not one and the same person) and the Fabulla of *Epp. Apoll.* 58 were all related. Cf. *PIR*[2] F 30, 32, 92. For a recent attempt to identify our Fabulla with the woman of the same name mentioned in the so-called *Testamentum Dasumii*, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 58 Οὐαλερίῳ.

Epp. Apoll. 59

The Philostratean Apollonius traveled through Babylonia and India, but *Epp. Apoll.* 59 has no apparent connection with the sage or the story of his eastern travels. No king Garmus or Neogyndes is mentioned by Philostratus. Garmus is the name of a Babylonian king in Iamblichus's novel (Phot., *Bibl.* cod. 94).

οὐκ ἂν ᾖς . . . δίκαιος: Previous translators have "iustitiam non exerceres" (Olearius, Hercher), "you would not be laying down the law" (Conybeare). My rendering is not a literal translation, but an attempt to capture what I surmise is the intended tone of δίκαιος.

τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθιείς: I.e., employing them as accomplices; but it is not clear whether they are officials of Neogyndes's or of Garmus's kingdom. For καθίημι with the sense "employ" in later Greek, see *LSJ* s.v. I, 2.

Epp. Apoll. 60

See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 36 and cf. the opening of this letter with that of *Epp. Apoll.* 36.

μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου: Grosso 425 thinks that Euphrates's friend is Bassus. But that conjecture cannot stand without bringing *Epp. Apoll.* 36 and 60 into mutual contradiction: According to *Epp. Apoll.* 36 Bassus *sent* Praxiteles to Apollonius's door (ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλείς), which implies that he did not accompany Praxiteles. γνώριμος can mean "pupil" (cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 43) as well as "friend."

"οὐ γὰρ πώποτε . . . θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα": An adaptation of *Iliad* 1.154, οὐ γάρ πώ ποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν, and an exact quotation of *Il.* 1.156-57. Achilles is telling Agamemnon that the Trojans never did him any harm. Likewise, Apollonius is saying that he has done no wrong to Euphrates, that Euphrates's hostility is unwarranted. Cf. the use of *Il.* 1.154 at Dio Chrys. 43.8, of *Il.* 1.156 at Ps.-Dio Chrys. 37.44, and of *Il.* 1.156-57 at Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 5, *prooem.* [672D].

Epp. Apoll. 61

For Lesbonax, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 22, Λεσβώνακτι. Anacharsis was portrayed as a lover of Greek ways, a wise man and philosopher. Ephorus made him one of the Seven Sages: *FGrH* 70 F 42, 158, 182; cf. Dio Chrys. 32.44; Plut., *Conv. sept. sap.*, *passim.* He was said to have been a critic of Greek mores. For further details, see A. Armstrong, *G&R* 17 (1948) 18-23; *Enciclopedia Italiana* s.v. "Anacarsi." The Scythians were often portrayed as an idealized race, close to nature and unspoiled by the temptations of the cultivated polis: A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (1875). That tradition is reflected in Apollonius's attribution of Anacharsis's wisdom to his Scythian origins. The letter is implicitly aimed at the Greeks; cf. esp. *Epp. Apoll.* 34, "ἐβαρβαρώθην" οὐ "χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος," ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

Epp. Apoll. 62

Philostratus does mention honors bestowed on Apollonius by the Lacedaemonians in the 60s A.D., but not the honors mentioned in the decree attached to *Epp. Apoll.* 62: οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] καὶ τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας (*VA* 4.31). According to Philostratus, Apollonius discouraged such honors to avoid envy.

For the phrase καθὼς οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν in the decree, cf. *IG V* 1 11_5, V 1 $18A_1$. Cichorius in Norden 342 suggested that the Tyndares of this decree is the same person as the Lacedaemonian Tyndares of Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 8.1 [717E], 8.2 [718C ff.], 8.8 [728E]. This hypothesis does not necessarily assume that the decree is genuine, but only that genuine data may be embedded in it. While Cichorius's identification may be chronologically plausible if the alleged decree is dated late in Apollonius's life, the grounds for it are weak. I take τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ to be in apposition to ταῖν ἀρχαῖν. The representation of Apollonius is apparently a painting on a bronze *clipeus*. It is, of course, strictly the *clipeus*, not the εἰκών that should be described as "having an inscription" and "of bronze"; for a similar looseness of expression, see *OGI* 571 εἰκόνι γραπτῇ ἐπιχρύσῳ, where ἐπιχρύσῳ strictly refers to the *clipeus*, not to the εἰκών. Perhaps we should consider the possibility that a second occurrence of εἰκόνα has dropped out of the text of the Lacedaemonian decree before the word χαλκᾶν. This would give a *clipeus* and a statue, a common combination; cf., e.g., *OGI* 571 εἰκόνι χαλκῇ καὶ εἰκόνι γραπτῇ ἐπιχρύσῳ; *OGI* 565.3-4 εἰκόνι γραπτῇ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ. See also Daremberg-Saglio s.v. "imago," pp. 389-90, 394; Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.* s.v. "clipeus"; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 89 (1976) 529-30. Whether the mixed dialect of the letter and decree ("anstössig": Wilamowitz 311, n. 3) is what their composer(s) wrote or is due to partial standardization in the course of transmission must remain uncertain.

Epp. Apoll. 63

Epp. Apoll. 63 is apparently the letter to the Spartan ephors referred to at Philostr., *VA* 4.27, and alleged to have stimulated a moral reform in Sparta (60s A.D.). Perhaps we should delete καὶ in the heading I print or read Λακεδαίμονος ἐφόροις with LrNPs. There are allusions to the text of *Epp. Apoll.* 63 in Philostratus's narrative: ἀνιόντι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνέτυχον Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, Λακωνικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἁβρότερον αὐτῶν εἶχον καὶ συβάριδος μεστοὶ ἦσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρας λείους τὰ σκέλη, λιπαροὺς τὰς κόμας καὶ μηδὲ γενείοις χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα μαλακούς, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπέστειλεν . . . . (See K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* [1952] 157 ff.; E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* [1965-74] II 219). Philostratus does not indicate, as does *Epp. Apoll.* 63, that

the πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας delivered a letter to Apollonius from the Spartan ephors. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 42a with my comment.

τοὺς μηροὺς . . . καὶ λευκούς: Among the alleged reforms resulting from the sending of this letter, Philostratus mentions (*VA* 4.27) the prohibition of the use of pitch (for depilation) and the driving out of the παρατίλτριαι.

ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν: Like the other features of the envoys, a mark of voluptuousness or effeminacy, a common connotation of Ἰωνικός (*LSJ*, Hesychius s.v.). Ἰωνίκ' (ed. Nairn[2]) or Ἰωνίκ' ἀμφίσφαιρα (edd. Headlam-Knox, Cunningham) appear in a long list of shoes offered to lady customers at Herodas 7.59.

Epp. Apoll. 64

The Philostratean Apollonius seems initially reluctant to accept an invitation to come to Sparta due to the corrupt and effeminate appearance of the Spartan envoys who delivered the invitation (*VA* 4.27). But after he learned that his letter of censure to the ephors (*Epp. Apoll.* 63) stimulated a moral reform at Sparta, he did visit the city and give the Spartans advice (*VA* 4.31-33). How—or whether—*Epp. Apoll.* 64, in which Apollonius seems to be turning down an invitation, can be reconciled with Philostratus's account is not clear.

For the Philostratean Apollonius's admiration of Lycurgus and old Sparta, see E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* (1965-74) II 211 ff., esp. 214-16. In *Epp. Apoll.* 64 Apollonius is not praising contemporary Athens—which in fact he sharply criticized (*VA* 4.22, *Epp. Apoll.* 70)—but rather Solon's laws and perhaps the Athenians' recognition of the adequacy of those laws. Cf. with this letter the Philostratean Apollonius's response to the question, put to him at Sparta, what he thought of Sparta's laws: ἀρίστους διδασκάλους, οἱ διδάσκαλοι δὲ εὐδοκιμήσουσιν, ἢν οἱ μαθηταὶ μὴ ῥᾳθυμῶσιν (*VA* 4.31).

βοηθὸν . . . ἐσόμενον: Cf. *VA* 4.31, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐποιοῦντο [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] . . . τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην . . . .

Epp. Apoll. 65

Apollonius condemns the abuse of the asylum right of the Ephesian Temple of Artemis by criminals seeking to escape justice. Cf. the situation that obtained during the principate of Tiberius: *crebrescebat enim Graecas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi*; *complebantur templa pessimis servitiorum*; *eodem subsidio obaerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur* . . . . (Tac., *Ann.* 3.60). The heading of *Epp. Apoll.* 65 obviously does not refer to the criminal abusers of the asylum right; understand it to mean "Ephesiis qui in Dianae templo operam navabant eique praeerant" (Olearius; *pace* Wilamowitz 308).

τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποστερούντων κτλ.: One cannot fail to think of Mark 11.17, ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν [sc., τὸν οἶκόν μου] σπήλαιον λῃστῶν (cf. Matthew 21.13, Luke 19.46, John 2.16).

Epp. Apoll. 66

ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος: I understand Ἑλλάδος here to refer literally to peninsular Greece (*pace* Olearius, *ad loc.*). Philostratus does happen to mention a visit of Apollonius to Ephesus that followed immediately upon a stay in peninsular Greece: In 95/96, after spending two years in peninsular Greece, Apollonius went to Ionia, teaching mainly in Smyrna and Ephesus (*VA* 8.24). Perhaps the preaching of *Epp. Apoll.* 65-67 should be connected with the Philostratean tradition of a stay in Ephesus in 95/96.

οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος ... [γελοῖον ὄνομα]: Apollonius is a Hellene in the broadest sense and not narrowly attached to a particular Greek city. The words οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς are probably an allusion to the stormy relations between Athens and Megara in the fifth century B.C. (see *CAH* IV and V, *passim*), a well-known example of inter-city strife. Note that in discussing a quarrel of the second century A.D. between Athens and Megara, Philostratus could not resist an allusion to the past: ἐστασίαζον μὲν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκμαζούσαις ταῖς γνώμαις, ὥσπερ ἄρτι τοῦ πινακίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γεγραμμένου (*VS* 529).

With Jessen 35, I regard γελοῖον ὄνομα as an interpolated gloss on Μεγαρεύς—an irrelevant gloss, if my interpretation of οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς is correct. The Megarians, who claimed to have invented comedy, were contemned by the Athenian comedians and proverbially portrayed as coarse buffoons. That proverbial caricature was what the glossator had in mind. See J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*[2] (1965) 257; D. M. MacDowell (ed.), *Aristophanes, Wasps* (1971) 136.

δότε μοι κτλ.: I.e., give me a place inside the Temple where I can remain without becoming defiled from contact with thieves, pirates, kidnapers, etc. (*Epp. Apoll.* 65). For Apollonius's living in temples, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 8.1, λουτρὸν ἅπαν ... τοὺς πόδας.

Epp. Apoll. 67

In the second sentence I understand νόμος to refer to the custom of admitting such a diversity of worshipers to the Temple. In the third sentence, Apollonius means that the signs of the cult of Artemis, daughter of Zeus and Leto, are not the only signs he sees; he also sees "signs" of the thieves, pirates, kidnapers, etc., condemned in *Epp. Apoll.* 65.

Epp. Apoll. 68

The earthquake that the Milesians have suffered is their punishment, Apollonius hints, for their discord and impiety. Cf. Philostr.,

VA 6.38, where Apollonius tells the people of Antioch that an earthquake that they had just experienced was God's way of warning them to end their feuding. The philosopher who predicted the Milesian earthquake and was subsequently accused of having caused it is surely Apollonius himself (*pace* Wilamowitz 311, n. 1). Philostratus claims that Apollonius predicted earthquakes at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, and elsewhere in Ionia (*VA* 4.6), and Byzantine sources record his prediction of earthquakes at Antioch (Malalas, *Chron.* 10.266 [*PG* 97.404]; Tzetzes, *Chil.* II, *Hist.* 60.953). *Epp. Apoll.* 33 is also aimed at the Milesians.

φήναντα: "Revealed *in advance.*"

γινομένους: Present tense for the future; cf. Kühner-Gerth 382.5a.

ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός: Poseidon (*PW* 22:1 [1953] 480-81).

καὶ πατὴρ . . . Θαλῆς: For Thales's Milesian citizenship, see *PW* Suppl. 10 (1965) 930-31. Jessen 35 suggests that Apollonius is alluding to Thales's well received (Diog. Laert. 1.23) prediction of an eclipse: W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* I (1962) 46 ff.; cf. Philostr., *VA* 8.7.9 (pp. 313-14 Kayser, ed. min.).

Epp. Apoll. 69

τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας . . . εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν: Apollonius specifies that he is comparing the people of Carian Tralles with the free Italiote city states of classical times, not with the contemporary cities of Roman Italy. The epithet εὐδαίμων is regularly applied to Italy as a whole: Dio Chrys. 11.137; Paus. 1.12.1; Philostr., *VA* 7.10; Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 2; cf. Pl., *Epp.* 7.326B *in malam partem.* But the Pythagorean Apollonius may be applying the epithet to the Italiotes with special reference to the benefits they had once received from Pythagorean advisers: cf. Dio Chrys. 49.6, Ἰταλιώτας δὲ σύμπαντας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν [sc., ἀπολαύσαντας ἀγαθά], τοσοῦτον χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσαντας . . . ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι χρόνον τὰς πόλεις διεῖπον.

ὧν γένος ὑμέτερον: Apollonius and the Trallians are all "true" Hellenes or identify themselves more with their common Hellenism than with their localities; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 66. Olearius's explanation, that Apollonius's parents or ancestors were Trallians (cf. Wilamowitz 309-10), would clash with *VA* 1.4 *init.* His alternative suggestion, that Apollonius means that the Trallians have a high regard for Pythagoreanism and are therefore his spiritual brothers, seems farfetched.

ὡς πολὺ κρείττους κτλ.: Olearius translates "ut qui virtute et sapientia aliarum urbium principes longe antecellant, maximeque principes earum a quibus originem ducunt." He thinks that "principes earum a quibus etc." refers "ad Lydos . . . Cares, Ionas, Milesios etc. . . . nam eos ipse paulo ante nominaverat Apollonius, Trallensibusque dixerat haut posse praeferri." Hercher leaves καὶ

μᾶλλον κτλ. untranslated. Conybeare, accepting Kayser's <τῶν>, has the enigmatic "superior . . . to those of other cities, and still more to those among whom they have been." I understand κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἢ κρείττους τῶν παρ' οἷς γεγένηνται. γεγένηνται is virtually equivalent to a present tense: "among whom they were born and are still living." Apollonius ends the letter by complimenting the Trallians at large: The moral and intellectual cream of other cities would only rank as average or even less than average in Tralles.

Epp. Apoll. 70

This letter to the people of Sais, "descendants of the Athenians," is nothing more than an occasion to criticize the Athenians, unless Apollonius means also to imply that the Saites have remained truer Hellenes than their Athenian ancestors. Apollonius criticized the Athenians for their frivolous behavior during the feast of Dionysus and for their love of gladiatorial shows (Philostr., *VA* 4.21-22). The gladiatorial shows are brought up in Apollonius's letter to the Athenians quoted at *VA* 4.22 (see Appendix 5). There are two small but interesting points of contact between that letter and *Epp. Apoll.* 70. In the letter at *VA* 4.22 Apollonius expresses surprise ὅπως ἡ θεὸς [sc., Ἀθηνᾶ] οὐ καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤδη ἐκλείπει. In *Epp. Apoll.* 70 Apollonius also speaks of the departure of the goddess: ἡ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει. In the letter at *VA* 4.22 Apollonius exclaims κἀκεῖ [sc., ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ] σοι [sc., Διονύσῳ] σπένδουσι οἱ σοφοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι; *Epp. Apoll.* 70 is more direct, if less sarcastic, on Athenian σοφία: γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος κτλ.

Philostratus knew that Apollonius wrote letters to Egyptians (*VA* 1.2), but he does not refer to any in the course of his biography. He gives a detailed account of Apollonius's visit to Egypt, but the Saites do not appear in the *VA* as objects of the sage's attention.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοι . . . σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος: The two pertinent passages in Plato's *Timaeus* are 21E, οἷς [sc., Σαΐταις] τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγός τίς ἐστιν, Αἰγυπτιστὶ μὲν τοὔνομα Νηΐθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ· μάλα δὲ φιλαθήναιοι καί τινα τρόπον οἰκεῖοι τῶνδ' εἶναί φασιν; and 22B, Ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε, γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν. Critias is discussing Solon's visit to Sais, and 22B is spoken by a Saitic priest. For the identification of Neith with Athena, cf. Hdt. 2.28, 59, 169; Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 9.354C; Paus. 2.36.8; and see *PW* 16:2 (1935) 2190-93. For the tradition that the Saites were colonists from Athens (not made explicit in Plato's *Timaeus*) and the rival claim that the Athenians were colonists from Sais, see Diod. Sic. 1.28.4 ff., 5.57.5, and the various authorities cited in Procl., *In Ti.* [21E] 30C-D (vol. 1, pp. 97-98 Diehl). Plato's γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν is adapted to γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς κτλ. by Apollonius with no fidelity to the sense of the Platonic remark (on which see A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's*

Timaeus [1928] 52). According to *VA* 6.22 one of Apollonius's discussions with the naked sages of Egypt owed much to Plato's *Timaeus*: παραπλήσια ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, unless Kayser is right in deleting ἐν Τιμαίῳ.

οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ . . . μηδενός: For γένυς with the meaning γένειον, see Hesychius and the *Suda*, s.v. γένυς. The wearing of a beard is a mark of the philosopher, and the length or fullness of the philosopher's beard is sometimes remarked (Lucian, *Eun.* 9, *Icaromen.* 5, *Pisc.* 11; Aul. Gell. 9.2.1). Hence having no beard means having no regard for philosophy.

ὁ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις κτλ.: As the reprobates encroach on Athens and on the port city Piraeus (connected to Athens by the "long walls") with its citadel Munychia, Athena is pushed further and further away until not even Sunium, a promontory at the southeastern tip of Attica, is left to her.

Epp. Apoll. 71

Apparently the letter referred to by Philostratus at *VA* 4.5. When, during the principate of Nero, Apollonius was visiting Smyrna, the *koinon* of the Ionians invited him to participate in the Panionian festival being held there. But Apollonius was incensed when he saw in the written invitation the names Lucullus, Fabricius, καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους. So he sent a letter to the *koinon*, sternly rebuking them for this barbarism (περὶ τοῦ βαρβαρισμοῦ τούτου).

Epp. Apoll. 71 and 72 have been cited in support of Apollonius's alleged "anti-Romanism" (e.g., Meyer 410-11; E. L. Bowie, *P&P* 46 [1970] 33, 40). The Apollonius of the letters and of the *VA* is certainly an advocate of traditional Hellenic culture, but such advocacy need not entail opposition to the Roman order: cf. C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (1971) 126-28; B. Forte, *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them* (1972) 250-51. Apollonius is perhaps only incensed by the flaunting of Roman names, or by the opportunism and neglect of Hellenic culture that might have been a concomitant of using Roman names *in some cases*.

τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν: Cf. *VA* 4.6, where Apollonius prays for the Ionians as τῇ καλῇ ἀποικίᾳ ταύτῃ. The reference, of course, is to the original colonization of the Ionian coast from the Greek mainland.

εἶδος ἀνθρώπων: ἀνθρώπων is pleonastic here.

καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων: Note that these words are missing in LrNPs and that, though Philostratus says that Apollonius saw other Roman names in addition to those of Lucullus and Fabricius, he does not specify what they were—and hence does not confirm Λευκανίων (*VA* 4.5). Olearius understood the adjective μακαρίων to be ironic. But it can be taken literally, with εὐδαιμονίας above in

the letter, to refer to the financial and other material benefits associated with Rome and the Romans.

ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴη . . . Μίμνερμος: S. Szádeczky-Kardoss rightly understands the sense: Mimnermus is not an ideal Greek name, but it is preferable to a Roman name (*AAntHung* 7 [1959] 297-98). Szádeczky-Kardoss assumes that Mimnermus is belittled because he was lowborn; he therefore claims that this passage is an overlooked piece of evidence on the question of Mimnermus's social status. But Apollonius's disparagement of Mimnermus may only be moral, prompted by the elegist's "unphilosophical" love poetry; cf. Plutarch's characterization of Mimnermus as ἀκόλαστος (*De virt. mor.* 445F).

Epp. Apoll. 72

Philostratus agrees that Apollonius's father was also named Apollonius (*VA* 1.4, 6). The family was an old one, directly descended from the original settlers of Tyana (*VA* 1.4; cf. Pythagoras: Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 2; Iambl., *Vita Pyth.* 2 [3-5])—all the more reason for Apollonius's indignation at his brother's interest in a Roman name. In *Epp. Apoll.* 55.3, written to Hestiaeus and his other brother, Apollonius mentions the importance of handing down ancestral names.

ἅπαξ: Literally "once," in contrast to τρίς. Apollonius's brother would not be able to refer to himself as Λουκρήτιος ὁ Λουκρητίου τοῦ Λουκρητίου. The abbreviation τρίς in naming is common in inscriptions; cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*² (1966) 58.

Epp. Apoll. 73

In this obscure letter, unilluminated by any of the other letters or by Philostratus's *VA*, Apollonius reflects with pessimism upon the new generation of Tyana's political leaders. This letter was written (or purports to have been written) late in Apollonius's life.

"ὁδεύει . . . τιμάν": Frag. adespot. 28 Page in *Poet. Mel. Gr.*

μείρακες: Cf. Ammon., *Diff.* 117 Nickau, and *LSJ* s.v. μειράκιον. Apollonius means "the boys who will soon become young men."

Epp. Apoll. 74

See my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 36. I assume that Bassus fled to Megara from his native Corinth. Bassus, who called himself a philosopher (*Epp. Apoll.* 36 and 37), may actually have been studying under the Stoic Euphrates. One thinks of the younger Pliny's association with Euphrates in Syria in an early year of Domitian's principate (*Epp.* 1.10; Sherwin-White 109). If Bassus was considerably younger (τὸν ὡραῖον) than and a student of Euphrates, the charge of homosexuality would have been particularly plausible, whether or not true (note, e.g., Plut., *De virt. mor.* 448E). If Bassus

was himself a Stoic, as his association with Euphrates may suggest, then this letter seeks to discredit Bassus and Euphrates in the eyes of their fellow Stoics. Grosso's attempt (pp. 426-27) to identify Bassus with the unnamed Epicurean mentioned by Origen, *Contra Cels.* 6.41, as a victim of Apollonius's magic is farfetched.

ὥστε ἂν κτλ.: Cf. the ending of *Epp. Apoll.* 38. For the sexual connotation of ἄτοπα, cf. Lampe s.v. 2.

Epp. Apoll. 75

Τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν: See my comment on the heading of *Epp. Apoll.* 38.

ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι: The lion has been explained as symbolic of "la fureur qui a entraîné toute la ville" (L. Robert, *ACF* 73 [1973] 485). But Apollonius may be alluding by metonymy to Cybele (see below on "Demeter"), who was commonly associated with lions (L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* III [1907] 382-92 *passim*; *PW* 11:2 [1922] 2258): "Do you imagine that Cybele is such that she would countenance civil strife?" Alternatively, the allusion to a lion may be more esoteric and specifically Sardian. Meles, a predecessor of Croesus, begot a lion. In obedience to an oracle he carried the lion around the walls of Sardis to ensure the city's impregnability. But one part of the wall was neglected because of its height—the very place where the Persians broke through during the reign of Croesus (Hdt. 1.84). Meles's lion, then, if that is what *Epp. Apoll.* 75 alludes to, is a symbol of futility and vain effort, as at Ps.-Dio Chrys. 64.22.

Δήμητρος: In *Epp. Apoll.* 75a Demeter is the "ancestral goddess" (τὴν πάτριον θεάν) of Sardis, and the Sardians are her "special wards" (τῶν Δήμητρος ἰδίων). Since there is no evidence, so far as I know, of a cult of Demeter at Sardis as prominent as is assumed in *Epp. Apoll.* 75 and 75a, "Demeter" may allude to another goddess. In *HSPh* 79 (1975) 309-11 I attempted to make a case for two candidates, the Sardian Kore and Cybele, preferring Cybele because of the emphasis on the goddess's "motherhood" in *Epp. Apoll.* 75a. It was subsequently called to my attention that in *ACF* 73 (1973) 486, before my publication of *Epp. Apoll.* 75a, L. Robert had already suggested an identification of the Demeter of *Epp. Apoll.* 75 with Kore.

Epp. Apoll. 75a

For a full discussion of this letter, see R. J. Penella, *HSPh* 79 (1975) 305 ff.

τὴν πάτριον θεάν: For the expression, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 208-209.

ἡ δὴ μήτηρ: A deliberate play on the name Demeter.

νόμῳ . . . ἔθει: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 76, ἤθει . . . θεῷ.

Epp. Apoll. 76

πόλιν ἀρχαίαν: Cf. Hdt. 1.155.3, and for this common boast of Greek cities in the post-classical period, see L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (1937, repr. 1970) 303-304.

φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον: Cf. Dio Chrys. 13.29; Ps.-Julian, *Epp.* 187.406D Bidez.

ἤθει . . . θεῷ: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 75a, νόμῳ . . . ἔθει.

στάσις δέ κτλ.: Cf. Pl., *Leg.* 1.629D, στάσιν ὅς δὴ [sc., πόλεμος] πάντων πολέμων χαλεπώτατος.

Epp. Apoll. 77

Conybeare understands οὐ δι' Εὐφράτην as "and not to please Euphrates." Perhaps, instead, "not in response to Euphrates" or "not out of self-defense or vindictiveness." We may infer that Euphrates, in Apollonius's judgment, could not have made an equivalent claim: note Philostr., *VA* 5.37, καὶ τοὺς λόγους . . . οὐχ ὡς ἐγίγνωσκεν εἰρηκώς [sc., Εὐφράτης], ἀλλ' ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου . . . . For Praxiteles's attempt to murder Apollonius, see *Epp. Apoll.* 36 and 60. Grosso 425 supposes that the Lysias mentioned in this letter was Bassus's agent in the poisoning of his father (*Epp. Apoll.* 37). The Lysias of *Epp. Apoll.* 77 is apparently not identical with the Lysias of *Epp. Apoll.* 48.2, a friend of Apollonius.

Olearius, Hercher, Conybeare, and Meyer 408 all refer τοῦτο in the last sentence to τὸ Λυσίου φάρμακον: i.e., Euphrates had engineered Lysias's attempt to poison Apollonius (?) as well as Praxiteles's attempt to slay him. But I incline, with Wilamowitz 309n, to refer τοῦτο to πεφοβῆσθαι: In addition to other undesirable qualities, fear also characterizes Euphrates, and Apollonius disclaims all such traits.

Epp. Apoll. 77a

Epp. Apoll. 77a, fully quoted in the course of the narrative of Philostr., *VA* 1.15, is addressed to the grain merchants of Aspendus in Pamphylia. The merchants had been hoarding grain and thus causing a famine in the city. Apollonius's rebuke frightened them and caused them to release the grain for sale. The alleged incident occurred early in Apollonius's life, during the principate of Tiberius. Apollonius was on the scene but could not speak because he was observing the Pythagorean five-year spell of silence. His written note was read to the merchants by the Roman governor.

For the stockpiling of grain in the early Empire (for the purpose of raising its market price), see *AE* 1925.126 with D. M. Robinson, *TAPhA* 55 (1924) 5-20; Dio Chrys. 46.8; R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974) 38.

'Η γῆ . . . δικαία γάρ: Contrast *Epp. Apoll.* 56 *ad fin.*

Epp. Apoll. 77b

This letter of introduction on behalf of Apollonius from the Indian king Phraotes to Iarchas, the chief Brahman, and his companions is quoted in full at Philostr., *VA* 2.41. Apollonius visited Phraotes in Taxila before going on to the Brahmans. They were mutual admirers (*VA* 2.26 ff.). Phraotes had been educated by the Brahmans (*VA* 2.31 *ad fin.*), hence in the letter he refers to Iarchas as his teacher and father. In Philostratus's narrative Phraotes tells Apollonius how he regained his kingdom (*VA* 2.32), but the investiture by Iarchas is only mentioned in *Epp. Apoll.* 77b. Iarchas does show Apollonius Phraotes's throne, as he was requested to do in *Epp. Apoll.* 77b, and lets him sit on it (*VA* 3.17 *ad fin.*).

Perhaps cf. with *Epp. Apoll.* 77b the letter written by Polycrates to Amasis, king of Egypt, on behalf of Pythagoras, ἵνα κοινωνήσῃ [sc., Πυθαγόρας] τῆς τῶν προειρημένων [sc., τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερέων] παιδείας (Porph., *Vita Pyth.* 7).

On Apollonius's eastern travels, see O. de Beauvoir Priaulx, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome* (1873) 1-62; V. A. Smith, "The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 329-44; Meyer 373 ff.; J. Charpentier, "The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana," *Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala* 29:3 (1934) 1-66; A. J. Festugière, "Trois rencontres entre la Grèce et l'Inde" and "Grecs et sages orientaux," *RHR* 125 (1942-43) 32-57, esp. 51 ff. and 130 (1945) 29-41, esp. 38 ff. = *Études de philosophie grecque* (1971) 157-95, esp. 176-82, 192-95.

ὡς ἀπολεῖται . . . καὶ μέμνηται: The Brahmans' teachings will not perish because Apollonius will propagate them in the Greek world; cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 77c and note *VA* 6.10, διήει [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] ἐς πάντας λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα (cf. *VA* 6.18). For Apollonius's memory, praised by Iarchas (*VA* 3.16), see *VA* 1.7 *init.*, 1.14, 3.43.

Epp. Apoll. 77c

This letter, written to the Brahmans after Apollonius took leave of them and just before setting sail onto the Red (i.e., the Arabian) Sea, is quoted in full in Philostr., *VA* 3.51. The Brahmans had given Apollonius a guide and fresh camels (*VA* 3.50). Other letters to the Indians are *Epp. Apoll.* 78 and Appendix 7. At *VA* 1.2 *sub fine* Philostratus mentions the Indians among other recipients of letters from Apollonius.

διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι: Priaulx, *The Indian Travels* 54, n. 17, took these words literally (cf. *VA* 8.10-12), but they may only be a figurative reference to the astrological lore that Apollonius learned from the Brahmans (*VA* 3.41).

κοινωνήσω τε λόγων . . . <ὑμῖν>: I understand these words to mean simply that Apollonius will talk about the Indians among the

Greeks, that he will continue to acknowledge them just as if they were present.

εἰ μὴ μάτην κτλ.: On the water of Tantalus, the drinking of which was a gesture of friendship, see *Epp. Apoll.* 78 and my comment.

Epp. Apoll. 77d

This letter and Titus's response (see Appendix 10) are quoted in full at Philostr., *VA* 6.29. Philostratus dates the correspondence shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (August 70). In the *VA* Apollonius's letter is addressed to Titus στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων, i.e., commander of the Roman forces in Judaea, a position that he had assumed after his father Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor and proceeded to Alexandria (see *PIR*² F 398-99). According to Philostratus, Apollonius sent the complimentary letter when he learned that Titus, claiming to be nothing more than God's instrument (cf. Joseph., *BJ* 6.9.1 [411]), objected to a crown offered him by "neighboring peoples" after he took Jerusalem (τὰ ὅμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτόν). Grosso 431 is wrong, I believe, in assuming that Philostratus is alluding to the salutation of Titus as *imperator* after the fall of Jerusalem; Titus was saluted (not crowned) by his soldiers, not by "neighboring peoples" (Joseph., *BJ* 6.6.1 [316]; Suet., *Tit.* 5.2). I suspect that by ὅμορα ἔθνη Philostratus means the Parthians, whose king presented Titus with a golden crown after the fall of Jerusalem in recognition of his victory (Joseph., *BJ* 7.5.2 [105-106]). According to Josephus, Titus accepted this crown. Philostratus seems to think that he rejected it: ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν τούτου [sc., τοῦ στεφανοῦσθαι] . . . σωφροσύνης μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἵματι; and cf. the text of *Epp. Apoll.* 77d. See Olearius on *VA* 6.29.

The praise of Titus in *Epp. Apoll.* 77d recalls Josephus's repeated allusions to the future emperor's πρᾳότης during the Jewish War, a characterization that is probably somewhat tendentious: *PW* 6:2 (1909) 2703, 2727 for references; cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, The Man and the Historian* (1929) 47-48; I. Weiler, *Klio* 50 (1968) esp. 150-51.

ἐπὶ δηίων αἵματι: Cf. *VA* 6.29, σωφροσύνης μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι [sc., Τίτον] ἐφ' αἵματι. δηίων is an epicism for πολεμίων.

τὸν σωφροσύνης στέφανον: For comparable expressions, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 42.

Epp. Apoll. 77e

This letter is quoted in full by Philostratus in the course of his narrative at *VA* 6.33. According to Philostratus, Demetrius the Cynic was an admirer of Apollonius (*VA* 4.25 *init.*, 4.42). Early in 71 (*VA* 6.31, Grosso 432-33) Apollonius met Titus at Tarsus and

promised to attach Demetrius, then in Rome, to the future emperor as an adviser. *Epp. Apoll.* 77e is Apollonius's letter to Demetrius. In the letter Apollonius urges Demetrius to confirm the truth of what he said to Titus, namely that Demetrius's counsel would be beneficial to the future emperor (*VA* 6.31); and since Titus had supposedly expressed some displeasure about Cynic outspokenness and indignation (ibid.), Apollonius also urges Demetrius to moderate his Cynic anger. After *VA* 6.33, Philostratus says nothing more on Demetrius's attachment to Titus. For more on Apollonius and Demetrius, see, in addition to the passages alluded to above, *VA* 5.19, 7.10-15, 8.10-15. There is some factual confusion and a good deal of anecdotal material in what Philostratus says about Demetrius, and the historicity of Demetrius's friendship with Apollonius must itself be doubted: *PW* 4 (1901) 2843-44; D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (1937) 126-27; *PIR*² D 39; G. W. Bowersock in C. P. Jones's Penguin translation, *Philostratus, Life of Apollonius* (1970) 17-18; but for a more confident and sympathetic attitude towards the Philostratean notices, see Grosso 379-85.

Epp. Apoll. 77f

This letter is quoted in full in Philostr., *VA* 8.7.3 (p. 306 Kayser, ed. min.) in the apology that Apollonius supposedly prepared for delivery before Domitian. In the apology Apollonius is contending that he has never coveted money and cites the letter as evidence. He explains that in writing the letter Vespasian had in mind how Euphrates and other so-called philosophers (the corruptible philosophers alluded to in the letter), unlike Apollonius, had solicited money from Vespasian at Alexandria in the year 69 (*VA* 5.38). For the contrast between Apollonius's and Euphrates's attitudes towards money, see also *Epp. Apoll.* 2-7, 8.2, 15, 35, 42, 45, 51, 97.

Epp. Apoll. 78

In the long fragment of his *De styge* (see *PW* 22:1 [1953] 298) that includes this quotation from a letter of Apollonius, Porphyry discusses information that Bardesanes obtained about India from some native Indians during the principate of Elagabalus. Bardesanes had information about two Brahmanic pools of testing, one that detected the willingly committed offenses of the person being tested, and another, in a cave, that tested for ἀκουσίων . . . ὁμοῦ καὶ ἑκουσίων [sc., ἁμαρτημάτων] καὶ ὅλως ὀρθοῦ βίου. Porphyry thinks that the water of Tantalus mentioned by Apollonius is the latter of Bardesanes's two pools. He thinks that it is called the water of Tantalus διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ κολάζειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν ἐσπουδακότας κἂν τούτου ποτὸν ἀρύσασθαι. (See H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa* [1966] 173-76). Philostratus mentions only one well of testing, by which the Indians swore and from which no one drank (*VA* 3.14); he differentiates it from the water of Tantalus, an emanation from a statue of Tantalus from which the Brahmans and their

guests drank as a token of friendship (*VA* 3.25, 32). Cf. the Brahmanic fountain of truth in Dio Chrys. 35.22. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 77c, εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου. For Porphyry's interest in Apollonius, see above, p. 3.

Epp. Apoll. 79

μάζα (μᾶζα) and the τρίβων are marks of philosophical asceticism. For μάζα cf., e.g., Epicurus, frag. 602 Usener; id. in Diog. Laert. 10.130-31; *Epp. Cratetis* 14 Hercher; Sen., *Epp.* 18.10; Dio Chrys. 6.12. For the τρίβων see *PW* 6A:2 (1937) 2417. καλλωπιζόμενα is Wachsmuth's suggestion (in app. crit.) for the manuscripts' καλούμενον, corrected by him to καλούμενα. καλλωπίζομαι is a word that commonly appears in discussions of the outward appearance and practices of the philosopher: A. C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (1963) 119 ff. For criticism of those who affect the outward practices of the philosopher falsely or only for show, see, e.g., Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 4.8; Dio Chrys. 35.2-4, 49.11-12; Aul. Gell. 9.2; Lucian, *Demon.* 48, *Pisc.* 31; *Epp. Diogenis* 15 Hercher; *Epp. Cratetis* 19 Hercher.

Epp. Apoll. 80

† **ἀσημάντους**: I have obelized the word. A. Meineke suggested ἀχαρίστους (*Ioannis Stobaei Florilegium* [1855-57]), Wachsmuth ἀμνήμονας. We obviously need some word of censure.

Epp. Apoll. 81

Epp. Apoll. 81 (= Stobaeus, *Anth.* 2.46.21) is identical with a fragment of the comic poet Anaxandrides given at *Anth.* 2.46.5 (= frag. 66 Edmonds), except that *Anth.* 2.46.5 has οὐχί instead of οὐ. It is possible that at *Anth.* 2.46.21 the original text of Apollonius's letter was somehow ousted by a dittography of *Anth.* 2.46.5. Otherwise Apollonius is employing the Anaxandridean line without acknowledgment, as he employs other classical authors in the letters (*Epp. Apoll.* 34 [Euripides], 60 [Homer], 73 [*ignotus*]).

Epp. Apoll. 84

Εἰδομένῃ may be corrupt, though this feminine name does occur in mythology (Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.96 [1.9.11], 2.27 [2.2.2]). H. Usener (see below) and Wilamowitz 313, n. 1, confidently corrected Εἰδομένῃ to the masculine name Ἰδομενεῖ (nom. Ἰδομενεύς). Another possible correction, again producing a masculine name, would be Εἰδομένει (nom. Εἰδομένης; cf. *IG* XII 8 273_6).

For the thought, cf. Epicurus in Diog. Laert. 10.130, καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζομεν, οὐχ ἵνα πάντως τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν τὰ πολλά, τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκώμεθα . . . . Usener, *Epicurea* (1887) frag. 135a, conjectured that *Epp. Apoll.* 84 (= Stobaeus, *Anth.* 3.17.13) is actually a fragment of a letter of Epicurus to his friend Idomeneus of Lampsacus (cf. Epic., frags.

128-38 Usener), Ἐπίκουρος having been displaced in the heading by Ἀπολλώνιος under the influence of the next item in Stobaeus, namely *Epp. Apoll.* 85 (= *Anth.* 3.17.14); cf. G. Arrighetti (ed.), *Epicuro, Opere* (1960) frag. 51. But there is no difficulty in assuming that Apollonius (or Ps.-Apollonius), who advocates αὐτάρκεια also in *Epp. Apoll.* 52 and 82, would have written on that quality in the manner of Epicurus; cf. Hense on Stob., *Anth.* 3.17.13, app. crit. Apollonius used to utter an expanded version of the Epicurean maxim λάθε βιώσας (Philostr., *VA* 8.28). If Ἰδομενεῖ is read in the heading, nothing requires the identification of that person with Epicurus's friend.

Epp. Apoll. 85

τῆς μάζης: Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 79.

Epp. Apoll. 89

Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 42a.

Epp. Apoll. 90

The addressee is probably Dio of Prusa, as in *Epp. Apoll.* 9 and 10. πόνος is a motif that appears in the Pythagorean tradition: A. Brinkmann, *RhM* 66 (1911) 616-25; Burkert 203.

Epp. Apoll. 91

πρασσόμενα: Elsewhere in the letters the form is always the Attic πράττω (*Epp. Apoll.* 11, 26, 77f, 98).

Epp. Apoll. 92

The advocacy of silence in this and the next letter may be Pythagorean: see W. K. G. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* I (1962) 150-53; Burkert 178-79; Philostr., *VA* 1.1, 6.11.

Epp. Apoll. 94

Probably a slur on Euphrates's attractive and successful oratorical style, which is given high praise by Pliny (*Epp.* 1.10.5), Epictetus (Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 3.15.8 = *Ench.* 29.4) and Fronto, p. 133 van den Hout. See Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Epp.* 1.10.2. In its derogatory sense, the term ἀδολέσχης can connote sophistry: *LSJ* s.v.; cf. my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 1, τάδε μὲν οὖν . . . πάνυ πρὸς σέ.

Epp. Apoll. 95

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: One Stobaean manuscript (Tr) has the heading Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ ἀδελφῷ. For the number of Apollonius's brothers, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 55.2, τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ . . . οὐδὲ εἷς.

ἄξιοι: Hense, following an earlier suggestion that something needs to be supplied before ἄξιοι, proposed <εὐπραξιῶν> ἄξιοι.

Epp. Apoll. 96

ἡσυχία here is probably almost equivalent to ἐρημία—the internal peace that comes with retreat from the city and its affairs. There is much useful information on this sense of ἡσυχία and its currency in the early Empire in F. Wilhelm, "Plutarchos περὶ ἡσυχίας," *RhM* 73 (1924) 466 ff. Cf. the substance of the other seventeen selections in Stob., *Anth.* 4.16 (περὶ ἡσυχίας). According to Philostratus, Apollonius was accused of encouraging his hearers ἐς τὰς ἡσυχίας (*VA* 8.22) and was accustomed to utter an expanded variant of the precept λάθε βιώσας (*VA* 8.28).

Epp. Apoll. 100

The passive substantival neuter participle (τὸ λυπούμενον) may stand (Kühner-Gerth 403b[γ]). A. Meineke conjectured τὸ λυποῦν μὲν οὖν (*Ioannis Stobaei Florilegium* [1855-57]). Hercher printed τὸν λυπούμενον.

For the contents of this appendix, see above, p. 2.

1. Apollonius to the people of Tarsus.

VA 1.7: γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ῥήτωρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν διδασκάλου εἴχετο, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος ἄτοπόν τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ οὐ χρηστὸν ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι, τρυφῆς τε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἅπτονται, σκωπτόλαι τε καὶ ὑβρισταὶ πάντες καὶ δεδώκασι τῇ ὀθόνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σοφίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποταμός τε αὐτοὺς διαρρεῖ Κύδνος, ᾧ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί. τό τοι "παύσασθε μεθύοντες τῷ ὕδατι" Ἀπολλωνίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εἴρηται.

Cf. *VA* 6.34 *init.* In his thirty-third oration Dio Chrysostom also inveighs against the Tarsians' moral decay. Dio notes in passing that the Tarsians expected their eulogists and flatterers to praise the Cydnus: ὡς δεξιώτατος ἁπάντων ποταμῶν καὶ κάλλιστος, οἵ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίνοντες ἀφνειοὶ καὶ μακάριοι καθ' Ὅμηρον (33.2; cf. 33.17, 23-25, 29).

Philostratus's picture of the academic climate of Tarsus during the principate of Tiberius should be contrasted with the favorable picture given by Strab. 14.673-74. It has been suggested that Philostratus's description of the Tarsians was influenced by Dio's critical remarks about them (cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* [1908] 234; *PW* 4A:2 [1932] 2431). But we should not overlook two more obvious literary influences on Philostratus, the full text of Apollonius's (or Ps.-Apollonius's) letter to the Tarsians and Maximus of Aegae's book (if it really existed) on Apollonius's stay at Aegae, where the sage went after leaving Tarsus (*VA* 1.3, 1.12; Solmsen 151-52; Grosso 336). We would not expect the writer of Aegae to have painted a flattering picture of rival Tarsus (cf. Dio Chrys. 33.51; 34.10, 14, 47-48).

2. Apollonius to the sophist Scopelian of Clazomenae.

(a) *VA* 1.23: παρελθεῖν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν καὶ αὐτὸς [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] ὡμολόγηκεν ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κλαζομένιον σοφιστὴν γράφει, χρηστὸς γὰρ οὕτω τι καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἐρετριέας εἶδε, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅ τε εἶδεν ἅ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπραξεν· καὶ παρακελεύεταί οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσαν ἐλεεῖν τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, καὶ ὁπότε μελετῴη τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, μηδὲ τὸ κλάειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖσθαι.

(b) *VA* 1.24: Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς "καὶ ἐπεμελήθην," φησίν, "ὦ Σκοπελιανέ, τῶν σῶν Ἐρετριέων νέος ὢν ἔτι καὶ ὠφέλησα ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας."

In the course of his fabulous eastern travels Apollonius visits the descendants of the Eretrians who had been carried off by the Persian king Darius in 490 B.C. Philostratus portrays them as still unassimilated and victimized by the natives. Apollonius supposedly improved their condition in addition to restoring the graves of the original Eretrian deportees (Philostr., *VA* 1.23-24, 35). This story, like much of the rest of the Philostratean account of Apollonius's eastern travels, is surely historical fiction. (For literature on the travels, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 77b). In my discussion of *VA* 1.23-24 in *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 295-300, I conjectured that Scopelian had written a declamation with the fifth century Eretrians' downfall and deportation as its theme and that that declamation caused Scopelian to be associated with the story of Apollonius's visit to Cissia. For Scopelian, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 19, which is also addressed to him. There appears to be an inconsistency in Philostratus's reporting of the dramatic date of the letter of *VA* 1.23-24: *VA* 1.23 implies that the letter was written from Cissia ca. 45 A.D. (Grosso 365, n. 2), when Scopelian was only a young child at best; the direct quote from the letter in *VA* 1.24, on the other hand, implies a much later date, when Apollonius no longer considered himself νέος. F. Grosso was wrong, I believe, in trying to remove the anomaly by assuming that *VA* 1.23 refers to a letter different from and much earlier than the letter quoted in *VA* 1.24 (*RFIC* 36 [1958] 358).

3. Apollonius to an unspecified addressee.

VA 1.32: "σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ [sc., Ἀπολλωνίῳ] Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὅς θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὁρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διάλεξιν θεῶν καὶ γηίνῳ τούτῳ ἐρίῳ ἐστάλθαι, οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὀθόνη· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπήσκησα, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ζῴου βορᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μοι σοφίας ἥκει. ξυμπότης μὲν δὴ καὶ κοινωνὸς ῥᾳστώνης ἢ τρυφῆς οὔτ' ἂν σοι γενοίμην οὔτ' ἂν ἑτέρῳ οὐδενί, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην ἂν λύσεις οὐ γιγνώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγιγνώσκων." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις μὲν διαλεχθῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνετυπώσατο.

Apollonius is addressing King Vardanes of Babylon (Parthia) in the course of his eastern travels. The words Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται are a reference to a letter in which Apollonius discussed his Pythagorean way of life, as in *Epp. Apoll.* 8, 43, and 52.

4. Apollonius to Euphrates.

VA 2.26: πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχειροῦτο [sc., Φραώτης] τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη, ὡς Εὐφράτῃ ποτὲ ἐπιπλήττων μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι, "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην αἰδώμεθα," φάναι, ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τοῦτο ἦν.

This may be a quotation from one of the many letters of Apollonius to Euphrates that were available to Philostratus (*VA* 5.39; cf. Olearius on *VA* 2.26); see above, p. 2 with n. 6. For Apollonius's visit to the Indian king Phraotes's court in Taxila, see *VA* 2.23-41. The sage admired the king's simple and philosophical life.

5. Apollonius to the Athenians.

VA 4.22: ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν "ὅπως ἡ θεὸς οὐ καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤδη ἐκλείπει τοιοῦτον αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐκχεόντων αὐτῇ. δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προϊόντες, ἐπειδὰν τὰ Παναθήναια πέμπητε, μηδὲ βοῦς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἑκατόμβας ἀνθρώπων καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ. σὺ δέ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιοῦτον αἷμα ἐς τὸ θέατρον φοιτᾷς; κἀκεῖ σοι σπένδουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετάστηθι καὶ σύ, Διόνυσε· Κιθαιρὼν καθαρώτερος."

Apollonius is attacking gladiatorial shows in Athens. Philostratus seems to be quoting the concluding words of the letter, which began with a rejection of an invitation from the Athenian assembly. The goddess mentioned in the quotation is, of course, Athena. Mt. Cithaeron, whither Apollonius urges Dionysus to retreat from the polluted theater in Athens, separates Attica-Megaris from Boeotia. It was regarded as sacred to Dionysus. There may be irony (as well as phonetic play) in the words Κιθαιρὼν καθαρώτερος. Cithaeron was the scene of the gory dismemberment of Pentheus, who opposed the worship of Dionysus (note Eur., *Bacch.* 1384, Κιθαιρὼν μιαρός). The implication may be that, though Cithaeron has had its gore, it is undefiled in comparison with Athens. Cf. *Epp. Apoll.* 70 and my comments.

The unnamed philosopher of Dio Chrys. 31.122, who probably is Musonius Rufus (C. E. Lutz, *YClS* 10 [1947] 17, n. 60), Dio himself (31.121), and the Cynic Demonax (Lucian, *Demon.* 57) also criticized the gladiatorial shows at Athens. Dio (31.121) is incensed especially because the shows at Athens are held in the heart of the city, in sight of the Acropolis, in the theater οὗ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. At least the Corinthians, he remarks, hold the shows ἔξω τῆς πόλεως . . . ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινί. Apollonius, too, is incensed mainly because the shows at Athens are held on hallowed ground. Cf. Plut., *Praec. ger. reip.* 822C; *De esu carn.* II 997C.

6. Apollonius to the Eleans.

VA 4.24: ὄντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] Ἠλείων ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," ἔφη, "διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν πρεσβειῶν δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἥξοντας."

See above, p. 2 with n. 6, and my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 24.

7. Apollonius to the Indians.

VA 5.2: τὰς δὲ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ τροπὰς καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ Κελτοὺς εἶδον, ὁποῖαι λέγονται, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰ εἰκάζων, δι' ἣν ἄπειρον οὕτω πέλαγος ἐπιχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἀνασπᾶται, δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέφθαι τὸ ὄν. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστολῶν τὸν Ὠκεανόν φησιν ὑφύδροις ἐλαυνόμενον πνεύμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χασμάτων, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γῆ παρέχεται, χωρεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔξω καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν, ἐπειδὰν ὥσπερ ἄσθμα ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. πιστοῦται δὲ αὐτὸ κἀκ τῶν νοσούντων περὶ Γάδειρα· τὸν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν πλημμυρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ξυμβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἶδα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοῖ μέτρα, ξυμμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ξυμπληρούμενος.

This letter is mentioned in connection with Apollonius's visit to Spain, and that visit is its *terminus post quem*; note Philostr., *VA* 4.47, τρέπεται ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς γῆς . . . τὰς ἀμπώτεις τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἐποψόμενος καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα, and *VA* 5.6, φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖτιν ὃς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φύσιν. For the association of Gades and the Baitis with tidal lore, cf. Strab. 3.172-75; Sil., *Pun.* 3.45 ff., 16.194-96; Plin., *HN* 2.219. For various ancient explanations of tides, J. van Wageningen, *RhM* 71 (1916) 419-21; E. de Saint-Denis, *Revue de Philologie* 15 (1941) 134-62. For the association of death with the ebbing tide, Plin., *HN* 2.220. Philostratus is referring to Apollonius's letter through πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. The last sentence of *VA* 5.2 (ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ κτλ.) alludes to Damis's memoirs (see above, p. 1, n. 3), which are frequently referred to as a "Wir-Bericht" (φασί): Petzke 92-93, 148-49. Damis is cited explicitly in conjunction with a letter at *VA* 1.24 *init.* (referring to Appendix 2a) and 1.32 (Appendix 3); cf. *VA* 7.42 *ad fin.* (Appendix 14) and *VA* 7.42 *init. Epp. Apoll.* 77c and 78 are also addressed to the Indians, i.e., the Brahmans.

8. Apollonius to the governor of Baetica.

VA 5.10 *init.*: σπουδὴν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐλθεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδεῖς ἔφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἵν' ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελὼν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκον ξὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν.

Philostratus may have had a text of the letter ascribed to Apollonius. For the Philostratean Apollonius's dealings with other Roman governors, see my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 58 Οὐαλερίῳ, itself addressed to a Roman governor.

9. Apollonius to an impudent youth.

VA 6.27 *sub fine*: . . . κἂν ἐντύχῃ τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός [sc., Ἀπολλωνίου], ἣν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου.

Philostratus has just told how Apollonius sedated a satyr that had been troubling an Ethiopian village.

10. Titus to Apollonius.

VA 6.29: ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, "καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ," ἔφη, "χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ Σόλυμα ᾕρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ."

Titus's reply to *Epp. Apoll.* 77d. The loyalty and deference to his father implied in the words καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός are qualities of Titus that are highlighted in Philostr., *VA* 6.30-31. Cf. *PW* 6:2 (1909) 2706-2707; Grosso 431-32.

11. Apollonius to Nerva, Verginius Rufus, and Salvidienus Orfitus.

VA 7.8: ὧν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς [sc., Νερούᾳ, Ῥούφῳ, Ὀρφίτῳ] ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν, ἀεί τι ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δέ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἐρρώννυ.

Philostratus may have had texts of the alleged correspondence.

12. Apollonius to an unspecified addressee.

VA 7.31: προσεστὼς δὲ [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] τοῖς βασιλείοις [sc., Δομετιανοῦ] καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους ὁρῶν, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ ἐξιόντων κτύπον, "δοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, βαλανείῳ ταῦτα εἰκάσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἔσω ὁρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω ἔξω, παραπλήσιοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοις, οἱ δ' ἀλούτοις." τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἄσυλον κελεύω φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ τῷ δεῖνι προσγράφειν αὐτόν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολλωνίου ὄντα, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἀναγεγράφθαι.

13. Apollonius to Domitian:

VA 7.35: τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς [δὴ] ἐγένετο αὐτῷ [sc., Ἀπολλωνίῳ] πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδίᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φασι πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ᾗ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἑρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ξυγκειμένῃ οὔπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχὼς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὗρον, βραχεῖαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι.

Philostratus attacks, on grounds of language and style, the authenticity of a letter of Apollonius to Domitian in which Apollo-

nius was disgracefully portrayed as a suppliant of the emperor. The invented letter is ascribed to οἱ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες. The plural may be a veiled allusion to Moeragenes's biography of Apollonius, in which the sage appeared in a bad light (cf. my comment on *Epp. Apoll.* 1, Εὐφράτῃ). In an early passage of the *VA* Philostratus dismisses Moeragenes as an uninformed source (*VA* 1.3, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα [sc., Ἀπολλώνιον] ἀγνοήσαντι). Meyer, rejecting Damis and his memoirs as complete fabrications of Philostratus, did not hesitate to assert (p. 418) the historicity of the account given by the βασκάνως ξυνθέντες.

14. Apollonius to an unspecified addressee.

VA 7.42 *ad fin.*: καὶ μὴν τοῦ μειρακίου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸ πολλῷ ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς ὃν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μειράκιον τοῦτο μηδ' ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου [sc., Δομετιανοῦ], θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεῦσαι ζηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις νικῶντες.

In *VA* 7.42 Philostratus recounts at length Apollonius's encounter, just before his trial, with the handsome youth mentioned in this letter. The youth had been imprisoned for resisting the sexual advances of the emperor Domitian.

15. Nerva to Apollonius and Apollonius's reply.

VA 8.27: τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ [sc., Ἀπολλωνίῳ] τοῦ Νερούα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἤδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κἀκείνου, κατασχεῖν δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾷον εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴνιγμα· "ξυνεσόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλεῖστον, ὃν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἑτέρου μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει."

Apollonius's letter is both a polite refusal of Nerva's invitation to come to Rome and, as Philostratus goes on to say, an allusion to the impending end of both Apollonius's and Nerva's earthly lives.

16. Apollonius to Nerva.

VA 8.28: ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο [sc., Ἀπολλώνιος] φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος [sc., Νερούα], ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν . . . .

This letter both responded to Nerva's request for advice (cf. Appendix 15) and provided an excuse for getting Damis, Apollonius's constant companion and the letter's deliverer, out of the way so that Apollonius's death would be unwitnessed.

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